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Tenth Anniversary of the United Nations

The Tenth Anniversary Meeting of the United Nations was held at San Francisco, Calif., June 20-26. Following are the texts of an address by President Eisenhower at the opening session on June 20 and an address by Secretary Dulles on June 24.

ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT

White House press release dated June 20

This, my second appearance before the United Nations, gives me, as Chief Executive of the United States, the great privilege of joining with you in commemoration of an historic date—significant, momentous, for all mankind.

I am privileged to bring you a special message from the Congress of the United States. Last week the Congress unanimously adopted a resolution requesting me to express to all of you here, on behalf of the people of the United States, our deep desire for peace and our hope that all nations will join with us in a renewed effort for peace.

Later this week my close friend and associate, Secretary John Foster Dulles, speaking with my full confidence and concurrence, will address you on appropriate elements in the foreign policy of the United States. Because of this circumstance, it seems fitting that I, today, speak principally in terms of my country's unswerving loyalty to the United Nations and of the reasons for our tireless support of it.

A decade ago, in this city, the charter of the United Nations was signed by its 50 founding members. Into a world shattered and still at war, but hopeful and eager for a new dawn, was born an international organization fashioned to be the supreme instrument of world peace.

For this Nation, I pay respectful tribute to you whose faith and patience and courage and wisdom have brought it through 10 tumultuous, frequently discouraging, sometimes terrifying—but often

rewarding—years. That there have been failures in attempts to solve international difficulties by the principles of the charter, none can deny. That there have been victories, only the willfully blind can fail to see. But clear it is that without the United Nations the failures would still have been written as failures into history. And, certainly, without this organization the victories could not have been achieved; instead, they might well have been recorded as human disasters. These the world has been spared.

So, with the birthday congratulations I bring, I reaffirm to you the support of the Government of the United States in the purposes and aims of the United Nations and in the hopes that inspired its founders.

Facing a Second Decade

Today—together—we face a second decade. We face it with the accumulated experience of the first 10 years, as well as with the awful knowledge of nuclear weapons and the realization that a certain and enduring peace still eludes our persistent search.

But the summer of 1955, like that one of 1945, is another season of high hope for the world. There again stirs in the hearts of men a renewed devotion to the work for the elimination of war. Each of us here is witness that never in 10 years has the will of many nations seemed so resolved to wage an honest and sustained campaign for a just and lasting peace. True, none of us can produce incontestable evidence to support this feeling. Nevertheless, all of us, I think, will testify that the heartfelt longings of countless millions for abundance and justice and peace seem to be commanding everywhere a response from their governments. These longings have strengthened the weak, encouraged the doubtful, heartened the tired, confirmed the believing. Almost it seems that men, with souls restored, are, with faith and

courage, resuming the march toward the greatest human goal.

Within a month there will be a four-power conference of Heads of Government. Whether or not we shall then reach the initial decisions that will start dismantling the terrible apparatus of fear and mistrust and weapons erected since the end of World War II, I do not know. The basis for success is simply put: it is that every individual at that meeting be loyal to the spirit of the United Nations and dedicated to the principles of its charter.

I can solemnly pledge to you here—and to all the men and women of the world who may hear or read my words—that those who represent the United States will strive to be thus loyal, thus dedicated. For us of the United States, there is no alternative, because our devotion to the United Nations Charter is the outgrowth of a faith deeply rooted in our cultural, political, spiritual traditions.

Principles of U.N. Charter

Woven into the charter is the belief of its authors:

—that man—a physical, intellectual, and spiritual being—has individual rights, divinely bestowed, limited only by the obligation to avoid infringement upon the equal rights of others;

—that justice, decency, and liberty in an orderly society are concepts which have raised men above the beasts of the field: to deny any person the opportunity to live under their shelter is a crime against all humanity.

Our Republic was born, grew, stands firm today in a similar belief.

The charter assumes that every people has the inherent right to the kind of government under which it chooses to live and the right to select in full freedom the individuals who conduct that government.

Hence the charter declares:

—that on every nation in possession of foreign territories, there rests the responsibility to assist the peoples of those areas in the progressive development of free political institutions so that ultimately they can validly choose for themselves their permanent political status.

Our long history as a Republic manifests a self-

imposed compulsion to practice these same principles.

The charter recognizes that only those who enjoy free access to historical and current facts and information, and through objective education

Text of Concurrent Resolution on Renewed Efforts for Peace¹

Whereas it is the hope and prayer of the American people that peace will be established among all the nations of the world, thus avoiding the carnage and destruction of war, making possible the lifting of the burden of arms and thereby freeing the energies of mankind to work more effectively to overcome the ravages of hunger, disease, illiteracy, and poverty: Therefore be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That the Congress reaffirms the deep desire of the people of the United States for an honorable and lasting peace, and expresses the hope that the people of all the nations of the world join with the people of the United States in a renewed effort for peace.

SEC. 2. The President is requested to convey an expression of such reaffirmation and such hope to the representatives of the nations gathered in San Francisco to commemorate the tenth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations.

¹ H. Con. Res. 157, 84th Cong., 1st sess.; adopted by the House of Representatives on June 14 and by the Senate on June 17.

learn to comprehend their meanings, can successfully maintain and operate a system of self-government.

Our Republic, likewise, maintains that access to knowledge and education is the right of all its citizens—and of all mankind.

Written under the shadow of war, the charter is strong in the conviction that no nation has a right to employ force aggressively against any other. To do so—or to threaten to do so—is to defy every moral law that has guided man in his long journey from darkness toward the light. Those who wrote it clearly realized that global war has come to pose for civilization a threat of shattering destruction and a sodden existence by the survivors in a dark and broken world.

Likewise, they recognized that the first responsibility of every nation is to provide for its own defense; and, in pursuance of this responsibility, it has the clear right to associate itself with other

like-minded peoples for the promotion of their common security.

But they who wrote the charter emphasized that in the formation of such associations, within the framework of the United Nations, it is incumbent upon the contracting parties to inform the world by solemn assurance, always supported by deeds, that the sole purpose is defense, devoid of aggressive aims.

Pledge of U.S. Support

We as a nation believe these truths that are expressed in the charter. We strive to live by them. So:

We shall always maintain a government at home that recognizes and constantly seeks to sustain for the individual those rich economic, intellectual, and spiritual opportunities to which his human rights entitle him.

In our relations with all other nations, our attitude will reflect full recognition of their sovereign and equal status. We shall deal with common problems in a spirit of partnership.

Insofar as our technical, material, and intellectual capacities permit and wherever our aid—including the peaceful use of atomic energy—may be needed and desired, we shall continue to help others achieve constantly rising economic levels. Thereby, we trust that they will have increased opportunity to attain their own cultural and spiritual aspirations.

We shall work with all others—especially through this great organization, the United Nations—so that peaceful and reasonable negotiations may replace the clash of the battlefield. In this way we can in time make unnecessary the vast armaments that—even when maintained only for security—still terrify the world with their devastating potentiality and tax unbearably the creative energies of men.

As some success in disarmament is achieved, we hope that each of the so-called great powers will contribute to the United Nations, for promoting the technical and economic progress of the less productive areas, a portion of the resultant savings in military expenditures.

An abiding faith inspired the men and women who devised the great charter under which you work. We of the United States share that faith. We hold fast to the hope that all nations in their intercourse with others will observe those ameni-

ties of deportment, customs, and treatment of other nationals as are sanctioned by tradition, by logic, and by friendly purposes.

We and a majority of all nations, I believe, are united in another hope: that every government will abstain from itself attempting, or aiding others to attempt, the coercion, infiltration, or destruction of other governments in order to gain any political or material advantage or because of differences in philosophies, religions, or ideologies.

We, with the rest of the world, know that a nation's vision of peace cannot be attained through any race in armaments. The munitions of peace are justice, honesty, mutual understanding, and respect for others.

Working for Peace

So believing and so motivated, the United States will leave no stone unturned to work for peace. We shall reject no method, however novel, that holds out any hope, however faint, for a just and lasting peace.

May I recall to you the words of a great citizen of this country, Abraham Lincoln, which, though uttered in a different context, apply to the problem which the world now seeks to solve. He said:

The dogmas of the quiet past are inadequate to the stormy present. The occasion is piled high with difficulty, and we must rise with the occasion. As our case is new, so we must think anew and act anew. We must disenthral ourselves, and then we shall save our country.

In such a body as this, it seems fitting that we should add to Lincoln's words: "Each for himself, our country and humanity."

The object of our second decade is still peace, but a peace of such new kind that all the world will think anew and act anew. It cannot be a mere stilling of the guns—it must be a glorious way of life. In that life the atom, dedicated once as man's slayer, will become his most productive servant. It will be a peace to inspire confidence and faith so that all peoples will be released from the fear of war. Scientists will be liberated to work always *for* men, never *against* them. Who can doubt that in the next 10 years world science can so beat down the ravages of disease and the pangs of poverty that humankind will experience a new expansion of living standards and of cultural and spiritual horizons. In this new kind of peace the artist, teacher, and philosopher, workman, farmer, producer, and scientist will

truly work together for the common welfare.

These hopes are not new. They are as old as history. But now as we meet on this Tenth Anniversary in the city where was born the United Nations, we must realize that at last they are steadily and surely attainable. This is new. Our part is to rededicate ourselves to the ideals of the United Nations Charter. May we here and now renew our determination to fulfill man's ancient dream, the dream which so inspired the founders of this organization!

Thus our duty will be nobly done, and future generations will behold the United Nations and stand up to call it blessed.

ADDRESS BY SECRETARY DULLES

Press release 383 dated June 24

Anniversaries can be both pleasant and useful occasions. This meeting is of that kind. We look backward and see much that was good. We look forward and see much of promise.

The United Nations has already shown that it is here to stay. One proof is the presence here of 37 Foreign Ministers who have come from all parts of the earth. Another proof is the fact that, since its founding, no member nation has sought to withdraw; and there is a long—too long—waiting list of qualified nations which want to become members.

This esteem for the United Nations is based on solid accomplishments.

In the political field there have been moments of triumph, as when the United Nations enabled Iran to bring about withdrawal of foreign troops from its soil. And when it helped Greece to overcome the threat of Communist subversion. And, above all, when it saved the Republic of Korea by organizing collective defense.

In the field of non-self-governing territories, the United Nations, working through the Trusteeship Council and otherwise, improves the lot of many dependent peoples and brings them nearer the goal of self-government or independence.

Through its Declaration of Human Rights, the United Nations holds aloft a standard which will lead increasingly to respect for the individual human being and his sacred God-given rights.

Through the Economic and Social Council, much is being done to improve the economic and

social conditions of the less developed areas of the world.

We live in the Atomic Age. And members of the United Nations, responding to President Eisenhower's stirring proposal, are joining together to create an international agency which will harness for human welfare what was only a weapon of war.

Above and beyond concrete actions is the all-pervading moral influence which the United Nations exerts. In fulfillment of the words of Arthur H. Vandenberg—a name never to be forgotten here—our General Assembly has become a "town meeting of the world," exercising a guiding and enlightening influence on the conduct of all nations.

These achievements explain why, throughout the world, the United Nations is held in high respect. As President Eisenhower said in his opening greeting to you, the United States takes pride in its loyal support of the United Nations in all these manifold activities which benefit mankind.

Collective Effort To Preserve Freedom

The vision of the founders was indeed a lofty one. They met, while war still raged, determined to save mankind from the scourge of future war. But the charter they wrote does not call for peace at any price. The peace of the charter is a peace of justice; it is a peace which will assure to all nations great and small the right to be genuinely independent; it is a peace which will enable all individuals, however humble, to enjoy their God-given right to freedom.

To attain these high goals, the charter calls upon the nations to work together. Fellowship is indeed the essence of the charter. No solitary effort could win for any nation the charter's goals. Collective effort is needed to preserve freedom. Without collective strength despotism would have free rein; the rights of nations would be trampled under foot, and human beings would be made slaves.

The founders of the United Nations endowed the charter with the flexibility needed to keep alive this concept of collective effort that these unpredictable times demand. A secure peace still eludes us. But that spirit of collective effort implicit in the charter, if practiced in good faith and with creative will, can guide us toward the ultimate goal of man—peace with freedom.

Collective Protection Against Aggression

We all know that certain of the activities of the United Nations have been gravely hampered by the use—abuse—of veto power in the Security Council. This has prevented the Security Council from discharging many of its intended functions. Also, the Security Council has never brought into being the security force which it was supposed to command. The reason is that the members have not sufficiently trusted each other to make it practicable for them to unite their forces.

Happily, the framers of the charter realized the limitations under which the Security Council might operate. They did not require the members to risk their future on a rigid, all-or-nothing proposition. They provided alternatives. Article 51 permits like-minded nations with common problems of defense to join together under the charter for their collective protection against aggression. This has been widely availed of by nations which trusted each other and which felt bound together by a sense of common destiny.

The first so to act were the 21 American Republics. They had been closely associated for a century and a half. They knew each other, and they trusted each other. So in 1947 they made their Rio Pact. It recognized that an armed attack against any American state was an attack against them all.

Others followed in that way. There was the Brussels Pact of 1948, the North Atlantic Treaty of 1949, and the Manila Pact of 1954. Now there are the London and Paris Accords of 1954, which bring about the beginning of Western European Union, a union long dreamed of by men of vision and good will but which, until now, has eluded human grasp.

Every one of these collective security arrangements embodies the basic principle of the United Nations Charter, a principle which in turn derives from the teachings of all the great religions, that people have the right and the duty to help each other.

Every one of these arrangements also gives added security even to the nonparticipants. There is less armament, because multiplication of armament is avoided when the force that protects one is equally at the service of many. Also, the military power and facilities of a coalition tend to become distributed and not within the control of any single nation.

In international affairs, as in domestic affairs, the sharing of power is the best safeguard against abuse. Power which is shared among a group of independent, sovereign nations cannot be used effectively unless the participating countries are in accord. Such accord would be totally unattainable except for collective self-defense.

Because collective security responds to the needs and highest aspirations of mankind, it has been invoked by many nations. The United States, which in 1914 and again in 1939 sought safety in neutrality, has now learned by that hard experience that security lies in **collective action**. We believe that the power which we possess ought to be made available for the protection of others, just as we desire the help of others for our own defense. So the United States is today a party to mutual security treaties which bind us collectively with the defense of no less than 44 countries. We are proud to have these multiple ties of trust and confidence.

These systems conform to the charter of the United Nations. They carry into effect the charter ideal of fellowship. They operate under the principles of the charter, and they are subject to the influence of this organization. They have attacked no nation; they have threatened no nation; and they thwart no nation that does not covet the land and peoples over which collective security stands guard.

Collective Resolve To Back U.N.

Out of the evolutionary process I describe, much good has come. Speakers who preceded me have referred to encouraging international developments, particularly some of recent months. Wars have been ended in Korea and Indochina; the Austrian State Treaty has been signed; relations between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia have improved; the Soviet Union seeks diplomatic and trade relations with the German Federal Republic; and peace talks have begun between the Soviet Union and Japan.

These are indeed significant developments. But in our rejoicing, let us not forget *why* they have occurred or the sequence of events that have brought us where we are. If we forget that, we will have lost the key to a future of peace and prosperity.

What has happened is because certain nations backed steadfastly the principles of the United

Nations and backed them with a resolve that, if need be, carried with it blood and treasure.

Today there is no longer fighting in Korea. But why? The reason is that 16 members responded to the call of the United Nations and fought the aggressor who had struck from the Communist north and almost immediately overran South Korea. After 3 years of bitter fighting, the aggressors were back at, or behind, their point of beginning. The aggression had failed. Then, and only then, did the aggressor accept an armistice and end the killing. It is indeed strange to hear this triumph of collective security now hailed as proof of the peaceloving character of the aggressor and its supporters. If they had had their way, we would today be commemorating the fifth anniversary of the demise of the United Nations.

Today there is an armistice in Indochina. It was negotiated a year ago at Geneva. But shortly prior to the Geneva meeting, several members of the United Nations made clear that continuance of the fighting would carry a threat to all of Southeast Asia and require consideration of collective defense within the framework of the United Nations Charter.

Today there is an Austrian treaty. It is a treaty which could, and should, have been signed years ago. For nearly a decade Austria was deprived of its freedom and its economy was exploited by one of the occupying powers. During this period of travail Austria's courage was sustained by the moral and material succor of friendly powers and by the backing of its hopes by the United Nations. In the long run, that combination prevailed to win a victory for justice.

Today Yugoslavia is no longer the target of abuse. An orchestrated threat began in 1948, when Yugoslavia asserted its national independence and broke away from an alien yoke. During the next 7 years Yugoslavia was helped militarily and economically by nations which differed from its Government in almost every respect except for one, namely, the right of Yugoslavia to be a truly independent, sovereign nation.

Today the Soviet Union seeks diplomatic and economic relations with the German Federal Republic. That development comes after many years of hostility, during which the Federal Republic was given security and economic support by those who believe in the right of the

Germans to have an independent existence under a government of their own choosing.

Today there is a possibility of peace between the Soviet Union and Japan. Four years ago, in this same room, 49 nations signed the Japanese Peace Treaty, a treaty of reconciliation. I recall how, from this very platform, that peace was bitterly assailed and rejected by some. But now, as a result of the treaty of San Francisco, Japan has resumed a place of honor and dignity in the community of nations, so that some nations now seek peaceful relations which 4 years ago they spurned.

Sustaining the Collective Effort

Throughout all of these events, there runs a common theme, the theme of fellowship. Those who believed in the principles of our charter have helped each other, and in so doing they have helped themselves.

Some say that what has happened marks the beginning of an era. I believe that that can be. Certainly the United States, I pledge you, will do all that lies within its power to make it so. But we do not forget, we dare not forget, that some of those who now hail the recent developments are precisely those who sought for years to stop them.

It is not unprecedented to see men make a virtue of necessity. Today the necessity for virtue has been created by a stalwart thwarting of efforts to subvert our charter. If we want to see that virtue continue, I suggest that it may be prudent to continue what has produced it.

Steadfastness to principle and sacrifice for principle are the proven price of the good that we have won. It would be reckless to expect further good at any lesser price. To achieve peace with justice, peace with sovereignty for nations great and small, peace with respect for human beings without regard to class, will require sustaining the effort, the sacrifice, the solidarity which has brought us where we are today. Much has been accomplished, but more, much more, remains.

There exists the problem of German unification. For 10 years part of Germany has been severed from the rest. That unnatural division of a great people constitutes a grave injustice. It is an evil which cannot be indefinitely prolonged without breeding more evil to plague the world.

In Eastern Europe are nations, many with a long and proud record of national existence, which are in servitude. They were liberated from one despotism only to be subjected to another, in violation of solemn international undertakings.

In Asia there is a Chinese Communist regime which became an aggressor in Korea, for which it stands condemned by the United Nations. It promoted aggression in Indochina and has used force and the threat of force to support its ambitions in the Taiwan area. Recent developments, including the influence of the Bandung conference, suggest that the immediate threat of war may have receded. Let us pray that this is so. But the situation in Asia remains one that cannot be regarded with equanimity.

Also, we cannot forget the existence of that apparatus known as international communism. It constitutes a worldwide conspiracy to bring into power a form of government which never in any country, at any time, was freely chosen by the people and which destroys the reality of independence. At Caracas last year the Organization of American States found that the activities of international communism constituted alien intervention in the internal affairs of nations and were a threat to international peace and security. This threat should end.

Finally, there is the urgent problem of limiting the crushing burden of armaments. For many years the United States and its friends have sought to find ways to carry out the mandate of the charter to reduce the diversion for armaments of the world's human and economic resources. Nearly a decade ago the United States made a proposal to internationalize atomic energy. This, if accepted, would have prevented the present competitive production of these weapons of awesome destructive power.

This unprecedented proposal was made at a time when the United States was sole possessor of this weapon. It was rejected.

This proposal was subsequently followed up by new proposals for the control and regulation of armaments and the establishment of an international organ to supervise an honest disarmament program. These proposals too were spurned. But the Soviet Union recently indicated that it might be prepared seriously to consider the initiative which had been taken months before by other members of the United Nations Disarmament Subcommittee. Let us hope that these indications can be

translated into concrete action making possible limitations of armament which are in fact dependable and not a fraud.

Facing the Future

These are some of the problems that confront us as we face the future. They are problems which cannot be met if we shut our eyes to them, or if we are weak, confused, or divided. They are problems that can be met if we are faithful to the principles of our charter, if we work collectively to achieve their application, and if we are prepared to labor and sacrifice for the future as we have in the past.

The United States asks no nation to do what it is not prepared to do itself. Any nation that bases its actions and attitudes in international affairs on the principles of the charter will receive the wholehearted cooperation of the United States.

Admittedly the problems we face are not easy to solve, and they will not be quickly solved. There is room for many honest differences of opinion. But the existence of hard, unsolved problems need not itself be a source of danger and hostility if the nations will bring to the common task the spirit of our charter.

There is one extremely simple method of bringing an end to what is called the "cold war"—observe the charter of the United Nations; refrain from the use of force or the threat of force in international relations and from the support and direction of subversion against the institutions of other countries.

To bring the cold war to an end, seven points are not needed;¹ this one is sufficient.

It is in that spirit that we go to Geneva, and we hope to find that spirit shared. If so, we can find there new procedures, or at least develop a new impetus, which will help to solve some of these vast and stubborn problems that still confront us.

We shall not, at Geneva, assume to act as a world directorate with the right to determine the destinies of others. Good solutions do not come from such a mood. We shall seek to find procedures such that all nations directly concerned can fully assert whatever rights and views they have.

¹ Mr. Dulles was referring to the seven proposals made by Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov in an address before the anniversary meeting on June 22.

In other words, we shall try to carry into the Geneva conference the spirit which has been generated by this commemorative gathering of 60 nations. The sentiments which have been here expressed can inspire new strength, new determination, and a new spirit of fidelity to the principles of the United Nations founders.

In conclusion, I can do no better than to cite the pledge made here last Monday by the President of the United States:

"We, with the rest of the world, know that a nation's vision of peace cannot be attained through any race in armaments. The munitions of peace are justice, honesty, mutual understanding, and respect for others."

"So believing and so motivated, the United States will leave no stone unturned to work for peace. We shall reject no method, however novel, that holds out any hope, however faint, for a just and lasting peace."

The Moral Foundation of the United Nations

Address by Secretary Dulles¹

This "Festival of Faith" is held here today because 10 years ago the United Nations was created in this city. Also we are assembled here because the religious people of the world contributed largely to that great act of creation, and they have ever since been steadfast in their support of the United Nations. Thus, it is particularly appropriate that those of many faiths should gather here to renew publicly their dedication to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

There are many who share credit for the great accomplishment that the United Nations represents. But we can usefully recall that moral concepts largely prompted the political decisions that, 10 years ago, were recorded here.

When the Atlantic Charter was drawn up in August 1941 to define the hopes for a better world, it was decided to omit reference to the creation of a world organization. It was judged that our people did not want to repeat the League of Nations experiment. That point of view was carried forward into the United Nations Declaration of January 1, 1942. The religious people then came to see their responsibility and opportunity. In this country they organized and campaigned widely to develop a public opinion favorable to world organization. The political leaders quickly responded on a bipartisan basis.

¹ Made at the "Festival of Faith" of the San Francisco Council of Churches, San Francisco, Calif., on June 19 (press release 366).

I recall that history in order to remind ourselves that under a representative system of government it is private persons and organizations that must themselves make it possible to move ahead to develop great new institutions.

Our religious people also exerted a profound influence upon the form and character which the world organization would take. As originally projected at Dumbarton Oaks, the organization was primarily a political device whereby the so-called great powers were to rule the world. The projected charter did not attempt to bind the organization to standards of justice or of law, and the General Assembly was cast for a subordinate role. A Security Council, dominated by five nations, each of which had veto power, was designed to be the mainspring of the organization.

Religious Leadership

It was the religious people who took the lead in seeking that the organization should be dedicated not merely to a peaceful order but to a just order. It was they who sought that reliance should be placed upon moral forces which could be reflected in the General Assembly, the Social and Economic Council, and the Trusteeship Council, rather than upon the power of a few militarily strong nations operating in the Security Council without commitment to any standards of law and justice.

The great debates of the San Francisco confer-

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ence of 1945 centered on these issues. In the end the charter was written so as to require the organization to conform to principles of justice and international law. Also, the powers of the General Assembly were enlarged so that the influence of world opinion could be effectively brought to bear upon the conduct of the nations.

As we can now see, looking back, these changes were of profound significance. Indeed, without them the United Nations might not have survived these early, difficult years.

Weakness of Security Council

The Security Council has grievously disappointed those who believed that the great powers would act in concert to maintain world order. Not once during the 10 years of its life has the U.N. Security Council taken direct action under the provisions of the charter. It could not do so because the U.N. contingents of land, sea, and air power contemplated by the Charter have never been brought into being. Whatever the Security Council has done, as in the case of Korea, has been in the form of a recommendation, a request, or a plea—never a command. And even the scope of its recommending has been gravely limited by abuses of the so-called veto power. The political vitality of the organization has been found principally in the General Assembly and its right to recommend, a right which carries great authority because its recommendations reflect the judgment of 60 nations, representing many races, creeds, and areas.

Significant achievements have been recorded by other organs of the United Nations which are not dominated by the so-called great powers and where no veto power exists. That is particularly true of the Economic and Social Council and the Trusteeship Council. By the Declaration of Human Rights the United Nations has raised a standard which will exert a profound influence throughout the world for all future time.

So, as this past decade has unrolled, it has revealed that the power of the organization was primarily a moral power, derived from the judgment of the participating nations and their peoples as to what was right and what was wrong.

The successes of the United Nations have been largely due to those throughout the world who believe that there is a God, a Divine Creator of us all; that He has prescribed moral principles

which undergird this world with an ultimate authority equal to that of physical law; that this moral law is one which every man can know if only he open his heart to what God has revealed; that these moral principles enjoin not merely love and respect of the Creator but also love and respect for fellow man, because each individual embodies some element of the Divine; and that moral principles should also govern the conduct of the nations.

It is a most encouraging fact that all governments, even including those who deny the existence of moral law, feel it necessary to try to defend their conduct, if it is challenged, in terms of moral principles. This is particularly the case when the challenge occurs, and when defense must take place, within the General Assembly. This is a testimonial to the power of moral law.

Thus, as we gather here as representatives of many faiths held throughout the world, we can find much ground for satisfaction. It has been demonstrated that the religious people of the world can generate the motive power required to vitalize a world organization by providing it with principles which are guiding not merely in theory but in fact.

Challenge for the Future

We must, however, also recognize that, while the history of the United Nations shows what the religious people of the world can do, it equally discloses that they do not always do it. Sometimes they seem weak, so that moral principles do not make themselves felt. Sometimes they are confused and divided. Sometimes, also, they are intolerant and impractical, demanding solutions which do not take account of the fact that until individual human beings in sufficient numbers are themselves dedicated to high moral principles, the moral solutions which may be devised by political authorities have little effect.

To recognize these facts is to accept a challenge for the future. The first 10 years of the United Nations teaches a clear lesson. The lesson is that the people of the world who are committed to the moral law have a great responsibility to assure the continued vitality of the United Nations and its capacity to influence the course of international conduct.

If the world organization were primarily operated by military power, those of us who are here

would have little to do. If it were primarily operated by the self-interest of a few great powers, those of us here would have little to do. Since, however, the United Nations, as now constituted, derives its authority primarily from the moral forces generated by our respective faiths, then those who participate in this "Festival of Faith" have much to do. Indeed, we and our fellows throughout the world carry a primary responsibility.

A Prophet of one of the faiths represented here

said: "Not by might, nor by power, but by my Spirit, saith the Lord of hosts." That sentiment is common to all of our faiths. It can well guide us as we look to a future which contains greater hazard than any future men have ever faced, but which also contains greater opportunity. That opportunity can be grasped with confident hope if men and women of faith throughout the world develop and mobilize moral strength so that moral standards will increasingly prevail in the United Nations.

Our New Partner—The Federal Republic of Germany

by James B. Conant

Ambassador to the Federal Republic of Germany¹

A few weeks ago the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, which is so important for the defense of the free world, took in a new member, the Federal Republic of Germany. At the same time, the United States established formal diplomatic relations with the Federal Republic by exchanging accredited Ambassadors. Once again the historic ties between the German people and the American people find their expression through conversations and negotiations between representatives of two sovereign nations. But for the first time in history we find ourselves allied with the Germans on a military basis. The United States and the Federal Republic of Germany are now both members of an international organization of supreme importance and with a high degree of power, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, an alliance created to defend Europe against Soviet aggression.

For 10 years the relationship of our country to Western Germany has been that of guardian to ward. Last month the ward came of age. On May 5 the Federal Republic of Germany, representing 50 million German people, became our partner.² On May 9 it became a member of the

Atlantic family of nations, with equal rights and duties.³

This new association of partnership requires that the United States and Germany become better acquainted. Above all it requires that the margin of error in our own judgment be reduced to a minimum. Over the past 10 years much has been done by both Germans and Americans to develop better understanding between us. It has not always been a simple task. Often our view was obstructed by the ugly wreckage left behind by National Socialism and the war. But now, 10 years after, I may say that most of the rubble has been cleared away—both physically and spiritually—and the road is open for what we hope will be a long and satisfactory venture in cooperation.

In the past month I have been aware of heightened mutual curiosity, and on both sides a certain concern is mixed with curiosity. Both curiosity and concern are natural; it is well for new partners to scrutinize each other.

Let me assure you that in Germany this exercise is taking place in an atmosphere of friendliness and frankness toward the United States. This is not too surprising. One of my most positive impressions formed in my 2½ years of experience

¹ Address made before the Union League Club, Chicago, Ill., on June 20 (press release 363 dated June 17).

² BULLETIN of May 16, 1955, p. 791.

³ Ibid., May 23, 1955, p. 831.

with the Federal Republic is that our relationship with Germany, on balance, is good and is sound. It does not exclude differences of opinion—which is all to the good. A degree of difference is normal and desirable in any close relationship, whether of nations or individuals.

As far as the Government of the Federal Republic is concerned, fundamental differences are minimal—in fact, almost nonexistent. As for the opposition, the majority of Germany's Social Democrats today confine their criticism of us largely to policy matters and do not extend it to either the American people or the American way of life. Many Social Democrats have visited the United States in recent years and have returned to Germany deeply impressed by our institutions no less than by our hospitality. And I have in my files countless letters from Germans who have been discovering more and more points of similarity between Germans and Americans.

Our View of the German People

But before I talk about the German view of us, I want to talk about how many of us view the Germans and Germany and try to answer some of the questions that my countrymen have been putting to me on this visit.

To begin with, I must remind you that as a people we are no less addicted to forming stereotypes of other people than they are of us. In regard to Germany, some of us cling to a two-sided cliché. On the negative side, some of us still see Germans as reckless militarists—people who love regimentation and are capable of great brutality. At the same time, some of us are prone to think of Germans as superhuman creatures insofar as industriousness, efficiency, and vigor are concerned. But this conception of the Germans is a stereotype too. And the real flesh and blood German of today has just about as much resemblance to either image as any real American has to the preconceived notion that many Germans and other Europeans have of him.

While the Federal Republic was moving toward sovereignty, integration with the West, and rearmament, Americans asked me repeatedly if we could really trust the new Germany. Now that the Federal Republic is a newly sovereign state, people ask me how I can be sure that an independent Germany won't reject a democratic government and succumb once more to a dictatorship.

They remind me of what happened to the Weimar Republic. Let me say emphatically that the Federal Republic of today is a far cry from the Republic of Weimar days. I know whereof I speak, for I have seen both.

Days of the Weimar Republic

In 1925, 7 years after the German surrender in World War I, I spent several months in the Weimar Republic. I was a young chemist then, and I was keenly interested in everything I saw and heard. I found a Germany that was suffering from the aftermath of a fabulous postwar inflation. Political assassinations and local uprisings had become commonplace. It was hard to find anyone who would acknowledge German responsibility for that First World War, harder yet to find anyone who did not rationalize German defeat as a "stab in the back" administered by "traitors" at home. Many Germans with whom I talked were indifferent, if not definitely hostile, to the principles on which the Weimar Republic was founded. I felt that the new governmental structure, lacking the loyal support of the more influential sections of the German population, was in jeopardy.

The democratic elements in Germany were struggling against heavy odds. Had these elements received encouragement and support from the Western democracies, they might have prevailed. But they did *not* receive help from the West; and in Germany they were opposed by powerful conservative and reactionary forces that had never accepted the military defeat of World War I and that stubbornly refused to break with the imperialistic past. Almost from the beginning, the official government of the Weimar Republic found itself competing for popular support with an oppositionist shadow system made up of antidemocratic elements that were determined to achieve a nationalistic restoration at any cost. That was the Germany of 1925. In 1930, when I returned briefly, the shadow of Hitler was already on the wall and the days of the Weimar Republic were numbered.

German Recovery

It so happened that it was approximately 7 years after the German surrender in World War II when I returned to Germany as High Com-

missioner. That was in early 1953. The Germany of the Federal Republic, then in its fourth year of being and facing a national election, was the antithesis of the Weimar Republic of the twenties. It was brisk and prosperous, its people healthy-looking, alert, and well-dressed. Vast reconstruction projects were rapidly effacing the ruins of the war-blasted cities. The recovery from economic chaos had been nothing short of miraculous. By 1953 the industrial index had climbed to 158 percent of the 1936 index, 1936 being generally accepted as the last normal pre-war year. Exports were increasing steadily. Banks were sound and currency was stable. Since the surrender of 1945 Western Germany had had no uprisings, no organized revolts, no political assassinations. The temper of the people was utterly different from what it was in the twenties. If there were people who denied the responsibility of the Nazis for starting World War II, their voices were not to be heard. But, above all, the Germans are not now looking backward through rose-colored glasses. They have rejected the past and are facing the future.

Naturally I was deeply interested in the story behind Germany's remarkable recovery, and I soon discovered that it began with the currency reform which took place June 20, 1948, by order of the Allied Military Government.⁴

If anyone ever needed evidence of the importance of a stable currency, the history of Germany from 1945 until the summer of 1948 provides ample material. During the first postwar years, when there was no stable currency, very little rebuilding took place and trade was at a standstill. Plans for starting up the industries again were blocked by a depreciated currency. As soon as a stable currency was introduced by the three Occupying Powers in the Western Zones, Western Germany began to flourish. It has continued to do so. And the currency continues sound and stable, safeguarded by a law that established a central bank, largely independent of the Finance Ministry, to supervise banking functions within the Federal Republic. Under existing arrangements in the Federal Republic of Germany, the experts tell me it would be technically very difficult for any government to solve its social problems by inflation.

⁴*Ibid.*, June 27, 1948, p. 835, and Aug. 1, 1948, p. 141.

Closely connected with the creation of a stable currency and a sound banking system was the introduction by the Government, which was formed in late 1949, of an economic policy based on private initiative and competition. The taxing system was designed to enable industry to put back into business its profits. The reconstruction of German industry owes much to this system, for the capital market in Germany is still inadequate and long-term interest rates are very high.

Marshall Plan Aid

Of course, the impetus given by the Marshall plan aid was of the greatest importance, as Germans in all walks of life acknowledge freely. All told, the American taxpayer contributed some \$3.5 billion to the reconstruction of Germany. Most of this was given in the form of foodstuffs purchased in the United States, shipped to Germany, and given to the Federal Republic, which sold the goods and with the payment received established what were called counterpart funds. The counterpart funds thus created were loaned to German industries to help them rebuild their plants and expand their businesses. Marshall plan aid to the Federal Republic ended 3 years ago—though we continue some aid to the city of Berlin because of its special problems.

The "miracle" of German recovery can be summed up in a few words: currency reform by the Occupation authorities; establishment by law of a stable banking system; wise economic policies developed by the Government, with emphasis on private industry; and Marshall plan aid from the United States. To these factors should be added two others: namely, the well-known ability of the Germans to work hard and effectively, and the attitude of German labor leaders, who during the critical years refrained from pushing unreasonable demands for higher wages. In combination, all these factors have produced what can only be described as the "amazing" economic recovery of that part of Germany which is now the Federal Republic.

The Adenauer Government

Had I had any doubts of the political stability of the new Germany, they vanished away in the September elections of 1953. Some of you may recall that Chancellor Konrad Adenauer assumed office in 1949 by virtue of one vote and

with an extremely shaky majority for his coalition in the Bundestag, or Lower House of Parliament. A skeptical Europe gave the Adenauer government 6 months, but that government survived the 6 months and is now well on in its sixth year. Indeed, its victory in the 1953 elections was the kind described as a landslide. Adenauer emerged with an absolute majority for his own Christian Democratic Party and a two-thirds majority for his coalition of moderately conservative and moderately liberal parties. The German people had demonstrated by their vote their support of a government based on democratic principles and favoring European integration and German participation in European defense. And they demonstrated just as clearly their rejection of extremist doctrines. In that election of 1953 neither Communists nor extreme rightists were able to win a single seat in the Bundestag. More recently, local elections in various parts of Germany have confirmed this trend against radicalism of either right or left.

Chancellor Adenauer has done what no chancellor of the Weimar Republic was able to do. He has managed to draw all parties into the new state, disbarring only the unreconstructed elements of left and right extremism. Under his leadership Germany's conservative and liberal elements have jointly created a democratic political system.

There is political opposition—as there is bound to be in a democratic state—but in the Federal Republic the opposition, with the exception of the far-right and far-left splinter parties, is not hostile to the state; in no sense is it antidemocratic. Quite the contrary. The Social Democratic Party, which constitutes the body of the opposition, takes issue with the administration on economic principles and matters of political strategy but never on the validity of democratic principles. The Social Democratic Party is and always has been a stalwart champion of democratic processes, civil rights, and international cooperation—and, what is most important, it is militantly anti-Communist.

I believe that many of the difficulties of the old Weimar Republic were at least partly due to the worldwide economic crisis of the late twenties and early thirties. With the help of the United States, the new Germany has developed this present government against a background of increasing prosperity and human well-being. I am sometimes asked by Americans: Would the Germans have a

change of heart in the event of another great economic depression? Personally I would not dare to predict what might happen in any European country if we were to experience again such a terrible economic crisis. But let me repeat: the Germany of today is not the Germany of the Weimar Republic.

Combining Democracy and Military Strength

Other questions asked of me repeatedly in the United States concern the future German army. About half the questions express fear that German rearmament may revive German militarism; the

Anniversary of June 17 Uprising

*Statement by James B. Conant
Ambassador to the Federal Republic of Germany¹*

On June 17 the world remembers with honor the desperate courage of those who claimed their political and economic rights against armed force in Communist-occupied Germany. The sorrow that their demands were so ruthlessly suppressed will always be illuminated by the light of their surpassing courage. Free men everywhere are strengthened by the knowledge of their endurance through many dark days of waiting for that democratic life they have so richly earned.

¹ Made on the anniversary of the uprising of June 17, 1953, in the Soviet Zone of Germany (press release 362 dated June 18). For background, see BULLETIN of July 6, 1953, p. 8.

other half express fear that the Germans might not be willing to defend themselves at all! (Superficially these two worries cancel each other out.) Regarding the first apprehension, the German Government seems to be determined that the new army shall be under strict civilian control by the Administration and Parliament. This is the stated view of the Chancellor and of the responsible leaders in the Government coalition parties as well as in the opposition. In recent months numerous Government officials and parliamentary deputies have visited various countries of the NATO alliance, including the United States, to study the constitutional and political safeguards which the Western democracies have devised to insure continuity of civilian controls over their military establishments. The accounts of those

who have returned to Germany from these trips have convinced me that their visits have been highly productive—and perhaps belong to the best projects that the Government has ever sponsored under the auspices of the Exchange Program. The German officials and politicians have returned from the United States profoundly impressed with both the legal framework and the administration of our defense system. They have declared time and again that the principles embodied in our defense system have universal significance and, with appropriate adaptation, can and should be applied in Germany.

The Germans are very much aware of their problem. It was epitomized recently by the leader of the latest group of visitors—incidentally, Vice President of the Parliament and chairman of a committee that corresponds to our Armed Services Committee. He said: "We Germans had a good army in the past. We hope to have a good democracy. Our tragedy has been that we have never been able to have both simultaneously. You Americans have both. We are here to find out how you work it."

This straightforward statement reveals the great German dilemma: how to reconcile the inherent disorder of democracy with the order required for military strength.

During the time of the Weimar Republic, the Reichswehr observed at best a posture of political aloofness. It was a state within the state—an instrument of the generals, not of the government. The new concept of a German army is that of a defense force fully integrated with the democratic state as its loyal defender against enemies from within as well as from without.

I am quite aware of the reaction of some of my fellow Americans who deplore the creation of a national German army. I can assure them that they will find themselves in the company of many Germans, including men and women in the highest positions. Less than a year ago the Chancellor himself and his government were opposed to the proposal of a German national army. They preferred a European army with a European general staff and integrated German contingents. But this idea collapsed on August 30, 1954, when the European Defense Community failed to materialize—and through no fault of the German Government or of the German people or, I might add, of the United States Government either. Ever

since, the Federal Republic, in close cooperation with the French, British, and American allies, has endeavored to solve the common defense problem in a way that would not sacrifice democratic freedom on the altar of security. The formula embodied in the Paris Agreements, calling for the establishment of a Western European Union within the framework of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, was accepted as the best—at least the next best—alternative to EDC.

Attitude of German Youth

Now what about the other side of the coin, the reluctance of many Germans, especially of German youth, to shoulder arms again? Well, this attitude has both its positive and its negative aspects. On the positive side, it is often said—indeed by Germans themselves—that the attitude is the direct result of Allied postwar policy to demilitarize Germany and that in this respect we have been singularly successful. However, honest appraisals of the facts forbid me to take too much credit for my Government. Allied policy may have been a contributing factor, but anyone who has seen the devastation of the early postwar Germany, and then witnessed the Herculean efforts of the German people to rebuild their country, will understand the deep-seated desire of the German people to live in peace—and to preserve the fruits of their labors. These German people have no desire to jeopardize their new prosperity by new military and political adventure. Their pride of achievement and their growing sense of economic security, more than anything else, lend substance and reality to the official declaration of their Government never to seek a solution to political and territorial problems by resort to force. And that declaration applies with equal validity to the question of German reunification.

On the other hand, it is also being said that preoccupation with material comfort and personal advancement will make German youth an unwilling comrade-in-arms. Predictions of this nature originate most often with politicians and parties known to be opposed to the policy of the Government. I want neither to belittle the weight of the argument nor to reflect on the honesty of all who advance it, but I have no intention of letting this argument get out of bounds.

German youth is not overly enthusiastic about the prospect of military service. Well and good.

Neither is our own youth—or, for that matter, the youth of any country that can offer its young generation a chance to live decently and securely. How real, then, is the thesis of those who say that German youth would not volunteer for armed service or, if drafted, would resist? In other words, in what way and to what extent would the behavior of German youth differ from that of the youth of other nations?

I think a number of surveys conducted by various German polling institutes over the past 2 years give us a basis for a fair estimate of the attitude of German youth. During 1953 one such institute asked German youngsters whether they would like to become soldiers. Twenty-eight percent replied in the affirmative; 42 percent said they were prepared to become soldiers under certain conditions—that is to say, for purposes of defense, in the event of draft, if decent treatment was guaranteed; and 28 percent answered that they would not be willing under any circumstances to join any army whatsoever.

Evidently the German soldier of 1955 or '56 will be different from his predecessors under either Imperial Germany or National Socialism. I cannot help feeling that he will resemble more closely the GI's of the forties and the fifties. And I am confident that, when it comes to the test, the German youth will, by and large, follow the example of their British, French, Benelux, Italian, and American colleagues. They may not relish the idea of military service, but when their numbers come up, they accept the necessity. I am sure that young Germans will respond in this way. I can scarcely imagine them wanting to leave the task of protecting Germany to the youth of the United States.

German Questions About American Policy

And now, I think you will be interested in hearing some of the searching questions that the Germans put to me about the United States.

I am often asked: Is there not danger that the United States may some day return to a policy of isolationism and abandon Europe to its fate?

I ask, in return, just how unrealistic they think we could be. In today's world, in which air power devours space at an ever-increasing rate of speed, a policy of isolationism for this country is unthinkable. Membership of the United States in NATO, and indeed the whole postwar policy of the United States, show that isolationism has ceased

to be an influential force in American life. Our actions have spoken and continue to speak louder than words, but some of the words spoken have produced action and continue to produce it. In April of 1954 and again this spring, the President has guaranteed that our troops will remain in Europe. In his message of April 20, 1955, to the Congress⁵ he said:

The other free nations need the United States, and we need them, if all are to be secure. Here is a clear case of interwoven self-interest.

Repeatedly the President and the Secretary of State have reaffirmed a basic tenet of our policy, which is that we cannot be secure in our own freedom or in our own economic well-being unless, as the President recently stated, "elsewhere in the world, we help to build the conditions under which freedom can flourish by destroying the conditions under which totalitarianism grows."

It is a matter of public record that a tremendous diplomatic, financial, and psychological effort has gone into the buildup of the Western defense system. The United States Government has contributed a mighty share. We have done so with a high sense of urgency and with complete conviction of the importance of the task before us. We would hardly have supported and committed ourselves to assist in the buildup of a system of forward defense for Western Europe had we intended to scrap it just when it has finally come to fruition. As our Government has indicated time and again, the existence of a coordinated defense effort by the European powers is essential to the effectiveness of the whole NATO defense system. It has been the position of this Government that German membership in Western European Union and through WEU in NATO is a vital requirement of the Atlantic defense and indeed of our own national defense. By the same token, America's active participation in NATO is an indispensable element in the planning of Western defense.

Until we can be satisfied that a revolutionary change in world conditions has taken place and that a state of global security exists which renders obsolete the need for large-scale collective defense on a regional basis, it would be the height of folly to abandon the position of strength which we are now about to achieve.

Another question I am often asked is whether the United States will continue to protect Berlin.

⁵ *Ibid.*, May 2, 1955, p. 711.

I remind them that our Government has committed itself to regarding any attack upon Berlin as an attack upon the United States, and I assure them that we shall remain in Berlin until that city is the capital of a Germany reunited in peace and freedom.

Any effort on the part of the Soviet authorities or their German puppets to tamper with the present status of Berlin or to harass the population will find this Government solidly on the side of the Berliners. The Soviet Government is well aware that, until Berlin can attain its full and legitimate status as the capital of a united Germany, we will not tolerate any changes that would interfere with the lifeline of the city or that would arrest the city's gradual process of recovery.

Of course my German friends ask many questions about United States foreign economic and trade policies. Despite the steady and very substantial progress registered by our Government in the direction of an increasingly liberal foreign economic policy, one or two deviations from this overall course have been seized upon as evidence that the United States has abandoned its liberal policy.

The Unification Issue

I am sure that through such questions and answers as we are exchanging with the Germans we are achieving a better understanding of each other. I have offered you just a sampling of the questions asked me on each side of the Atlantic. There is another field of questioning, grounded in a profoundly human and personal problem, that I have left to the end of this talk.

In German minds and hearts, this problem tends to overshadow all others. Americans are uneasy about certain possibilities of solution of this problem simply because they can appreciate so fully what its solution means to the German people. I refer to the fact that Germany is a divided country, with 17 million Germans in Eastern Germany cut off by the Iron Curtain from the 50 million Germans of the Federal Republic, and with Germany's historic capital, Berlin, an island in the Soviet Zone and divided as the country is divided. Part of Berlin is under Western protection; the rest is under Communist control.

This unhappy division was the work of the Soviet Union, which ever since has sought to make reunification a bargaining point and a political

spider's web. It has consistently been United States policy to help restore unity to Germany by peaceful means. Britain and France have joined our Government in periodic requests to the Soviet Union to permit reunification of Germany on the basis of free democratic elections. Just as repeatedly, the Soviet Union has refused thus far to allow reunification on a basis acceptable to either the three Western nations or to divided Germany itself. Thus far the Soviet Union has offered Germany unification only on conditions which, if accepted, would not merely isolate Germany but would leave all of Germany at the mercy of the Soviets. The offer has not appealed to Germans in either east or west.

The Soviet Union has bitterly opposed integration of the Federal Republic with its Western neighbors, its membership in NATO, and its close ties with the United States. To the last moment, the Soviet Union fought against ratification of the Paris pacts—not only by the Federal Republic but also by Britain and France. It alternated threats and promises in its attempts to prevent German ratification. If the Federal Republic ratified the treaties, it could never hope for reunification, the Soviets said, but, if it rejected the treaties, it would be reunited with the Soviet Zone virtually by day after tomorrow. Nevertheless, ratification took place. The German Federal Republic is sovereign; it is joined with six other nations in Western European Union; and it is the 15th member of NATO.

All along it has been the position of the United States that, once the arrangements provided for by the Paris pacts had become accomplished facts, the Western nations would be in a better and stronger position to negotiate with the Soviet Union. With Western unity a reality, the Soviet Union would be compelled to take Western strength respectfully into account and to formulate its own plans accordingly. The fact is that shortly after the ratification of the Paris Agreements, the Soviet Government ended its long-standing obstruction of an Austrian state treaty. The sequence is thought-provoking. It suggests that our position was well taken. It suggests further that the forthcoming "summit" meeting will provide a strategic opportunity to probe the nature and the scope of the Soviet Government's recently developed symptoms of flexibility.

I am struck by the fact that the Germans are viewing the problem of German reunification not

as an isolated problem that requires isolated treatment but as part and parcel of a global problem. Let me quote to you what the German Ambassador to the United States, Dr. Krekeler, said in a recent speech: "We know," Dr. Krekeler said, "that the greatest hope for the reunification of Germany lies within a worldwide settlement of the present tensions between East and West."

He added a very significant statement: "We also know," he said, "that we must not try for a reunification of Germany at a price or under conditions which would endanger our security." And he concluded: "We cannot possibly agree, therefore, to any plans for a neutralization of Germany."

Let me remind you that the Ambassador had just returned from a very important conference with Chancellor Adenauer. It is safe to assume, therefore, that what he told the assembled American and foreign press was no more and no less than the official position of the Government of the Federal Republic.

To my mind, this has been the most conclusive rebuff to Mr. Molotov's recent remark that the formula found for Austria "shows clearly that there are ways" of solving the German problem. The Ambassador's statement also reflects what I regard as the position on which the Adenauer government and the majority of all parties represented in the Bundestag seem agreed. I would define the points of their agreement on the reunification issue as follows:

1. No military measures for reunification.
2. Reunification only under conditions that insure freedom. This means that steps must be: (a) changing of conditions in the Soviet Zone to allow a free election campaign and (b) free elections through all the former zones to choose representatives to a new parliament which will create a new all-German government.
3. The new entire-German government must be completely free to decide its own future position in Europe, including its own position at the peace conference which will decide the boundaries of Germany.
4. Any offer from the Russians that an all-German government be formed by a combination of the Pankow regime⁶ and Bonn would be rejected

⁶ Pankow is the seat of government of the German Democratic Republic, the puppet regime sponsored by the Soviet authorities and controlling the Soviet Zone of Germany.

out of hand; there must be no recognition of Pankow.

5. Any discussion at this time of the future boundaries of Germany is premature.

6. A neutralized Germany is out of the question.

Whatever the chances for reunification may be, we can rest assured that the Federal Government and the parties that support it have no intention of bartering away the measure of security they have now obtained for the doubtful promises of the Kremlin. Neither their alliance with the West nor their sovereignty, it seems, is negotiable.

U.S.-German Relations

It is good to know this, and it is also good to know that Chancellor Adenauer and his colleagues mean what they say. The relations between the United States Government and the German Government have never been better than they are today. That this is so is, at least in part, due to the efforts of Mr. Adenauer. President Eisenhower expressed this very thought when he recently restated his "utmost faith and confidence" in the Chancellor. That is why we can leave the decision regarding a visit to Moscow calmly with him.

But, apart from personalities, it is particularly gratifying to know that their policy is so close to our own. The position of the United States Government with respect to German unification has been unambiguous and steadfast. We do not now and we shall not in the future recognize a status quo that is predicated on the willful, inhumanitarian, and unnatural dismemberment of a nation. We do not believe that an injustice created by force and maintained by force will generate anything but ill will, resistance, and a permanent state of insecurity. We will therefore continue our efforts to liquidate by peaceful means the current state of affairs and work jointly with the Federal Republic and our other allies toward the restoration of German unity in freedom. This we will do not merely to right a major historical wrong, not only for Germany's sake, but also from motives of enlightened self-interest, to remove a major source of the friction that is splitting Germany, Europe, and indeed the world.

We do not believe, however, that this can be accomplished through neutralization—and

neither does the German Government. It is sometimes asserted that a reunified Germany might defend itself alone with only its own troops. But the idea that a country like Germany, which has no natural boundaries at all (and which is not a natural mountain fortress like Switzerland), could defend itself alone outside a European defense system simply ignores the new military realities which have been created by nuclear weapons and advancing aeronautics. Comparisons of Germany with other countries that are strategically less important and lack Germany's industrial potential can only mislead. Germany is not Sweden; she is not Austria; she is not Switzerland—from any angle you choose to view her, military, political, or economic.

She is our new partner, and it would be hard for two independent nations to see more eye-to-eye on issues of foreign policy than do the United States and the Federal Republic of Germany. The thought is comforting in the face of the great common tasks that lie ahead. It is particularly reassuring on the eve of the conference "at the summit."

It is not for me to make predictions on the agenda or the outcome of the conference. As President Eisenhower and Secretary Dulles have indicated so clearly, the conference is a beginning, not an end. It will not and cannot bring the answer to all problems—considering that some have defied solution for years and some for generations. It will, we hope, open new "avenues toward peace." If so, it will, we hope, bring into the open the problems we know to be so desperately in need of solution.

That is what we hope for.

But we know that we will go to this conference with a feeling of confidence and strength—strength that flows from a new unity of purpose—and unity that is devoted solely to the attainment of a greater measure of peace and security for all.

Letters of Credence

Turkey

The newly appointed Ambassador of the Turkish Republic, Haydar Gork, presented his credentials to the President on June 21. For the text of the Ambassador's remarks and the text of the President's reply, see Department of State press release 373.

Status of 21 Americans Who Refused Repatriation

Press release 860 dated June 16

Following is the text of a joint statement of the Departments of State, Defense, and Justice issued at Emergency Press Headquarters, Operation Alert, June 16, 1955.

In order to further clarify the status of the 21 former members of the American Armed Forces who while prisoners of war in Korea refused repatriation, and who were given dishonorable discharges and are now in civilian status, the Defense, State, and Justice Departments today issued the following statement:

1. The Military Departments will instruct their field commands that if any of the 21 presents himself to military authorities as an American desiring return to the jurisdiction of the United States, he will be turned over to the custody of the nearest U.S. Consular representatives.
2. The State Department will instruct its Consular representatives that immediately upon making contact with any of these persons they would inform him that in event of return to the United States he, of course, would be subject to the laws of the United States including the U.S. Code of Military Justice for any wrongful act which he may have committed.
3. Consistent with existing laws and regulations the State Department will arrange for the return of such persons to the continental United States. Upon the return to the United States of any of these individuals the appropriate federal authority will determine whether further action will be taken.

U.S.S.R. Agrees on Time and Place for Four-Power Meeting

Following is a translation of the Soviet note of June 13, delivered to the U.S. Embassy at Moscow, in reply to the tripartite note of June 6¹ proposing that the four Heads of Government meet at Geneva July 18-21.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics presents its compliments to the Embassy of the United States of

¹ BULLETIN of June 20, 1955, p. 989.

America and in connection with the Embassy's note of June 6 has the honor to state the following:

The Soviet Government, in its note of May 26 in reply to the note of the Government of the United States of America of May 10,² has already stated its positive attitude to convene a conference of the Heads of Government of the United States of America, the Soviet Union, Great Britain, and France, having in mind that the objective of this conference is to lessen international tension and strengthen mutual trust in relations between states.

The Soviet Government agrees that the conference of the Heads of Government of the Four Powers should open July 18 in Geneva. At the same time, the Soviet Government cannot help but note that the note of the Government of the United States of America of June 6 displays concern that the conference should last for 3 to 4 days and also avoids the important question raised in the note of the Soviet Government of May 26 concerning the tasks of this conference. In the present situation, the efforts of the Governments of all Four Powers participating in the conference should be directed first of all to guaranteeing the fulfillment of the basic task of the conference—reducing tension in international relations.

The Soviet Government notes with satisfaction the information that the Government of Switzerland has expressed agreement to holding this conference in Geneva.

Analogous notes are also being sent to the Governments of Great Britain and France.

Joint Commission Asked To Investigate Resources of St. Croix River Basin

Press release 349 dated June 13

As a result of a request received from the Government of Canada that arrangements be made to have the International Joint Commission conduct an investigation and report with regard to the water resources of the St. Croix River Basin, the United States joined with Canada in sending a Reference on June 10 to the International Joint Commission—United States and Canada, in accordance with the provisions of article IX of the Boundary Waters Treaty of January 11, 1909 (36 Stat. 2448).

² *Ibid.*, May 23, 1955, p. 832.

July 4, 1955

The Reference sent by the Department of State to the Chairman of the United States Section of the Commission reads as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, Washington.
June 10, 1955

THE INTERNATIONAL JOINT COMMISSION—

UNITED STATES AND CANADA

Washington, D. C., and Ottawa, Canada.

SIRS:

In order to determine whether greater use than is now being made of the waters of the St. Croix River Basin would be feasible and advantageous, the Governments of the United States of America and Canada have agreed to refer the matter to the International Joint Commission for investigation and report pursuant to Article IX of the Treaty concerning Boundary Waters between the United States and Canada, signed January 11, 1909.

Having regard to the legal, engineering and economic aspects of the matter, it is desired that the Commission shall, after making the necessary preliminary investigations, indicate whether, in its judgment, further development of the water resources of the St. Croix River Basin would be practicable and in the public interest from the point of view of the two Governments and which projects would seem to warrant further detailed study.

In making its report the Commission should indicate:

- (a) what projects or regimens should be further considered to improve the use, conservation and regulation of the waters of the Basin, taking into account the previous actions of the Commission as well as the present and future interests of both countries in the Basin;
- (b) how the interests on either side of the boundary would be benefited or adversely affected by any of the projects or regimens so indicated;
- (c) the order of magnitude of costs of the indicated projects or regimens, including indemnification for damage to public and private property;
- (d) how the costs mentioned in (c) should be apportioned.

In the conduct of its investigations and otherwise in the performance of its duties under this Reference, the Commission may utilize the services of engineers and other specially qualified personnel of the technical agencies of Canada and the United States and will, so far as possible, make use of information and technical data heretofore acquired or which may become available during the course of the investigation.

Very truly yours,

JOHN FOSTER DULLES

A Reference containing the same provisions was forwarded on June 10 from the Canadian Department of External Affairs to the Canadian Section of the International Joint Commission.

U. S.-Canadian Agreement on Distant Early Warning System

Following are texts of notes exchanged on May 5 by the Canadian Embassy and the Department of State.

TEXT OF CANADIAN NOTE

WASHINGTON, D. C.

May 5, 1955

No. 306

SIR,

I have the honour to refer to my Note No. 791 of November 16, 1954,¹ regarding the joint establishment by Canada and the United States of America of a comprehensive warning and control system against air attack. My Note read in part as follows:

The Canadian Government has now considered a proposal put forward through the Permanent Joint Board on Defense that the construction of the Distant Early Warning element of the over-all joint Canada-United States warning system should be the responsibility of the United States Government. The Canadian Government concurs in this proposal subject to the conclusion at an early date of an agreement as to the terms which shall govern the work. At the same time, however, the Canadian Government wishes to state its intention to participate in the project, the nature and extent of such participation to be determined in the near future.

I am instructed by my Government to inform you that its participation during the construction phase of the project will consist of giving assistance to the United States authorities in organizing and using Canadian resources, and to helping by making available the facilities of the armed forces and other agencies of the Canadian Government when appropriate. I am also instructed to state that the Canadian Government intends to participate effectively in the operation and maintenance

¹ Not printed. For a U.S.-Canadian statement of Nov. 19, see BULLETIN of Nov. 29, 1954, p. 539.

phase of the project, the character of such participation to be determined on the basis of studies to be carried out during the construction phase.

My Government now proposes that the annexed conditions should govern the establishment by the United States of a distant early warning system in Canadian territory. If these conditions are acceptable to your Government, I suggest that this Note and your reply should constitute an agreement effective from the date of your reply.

Accept, Sir, the renewed assurances of my highest consideration.

A. D. P. HEENEY.

THE HONOURABLE JOHN FOSTER DULLES,
Secretary of State of the United States,
Washington, D. C.

Annex

STATEMENT OF CONDITIONS TO GOVERN THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A DISTANT EARLY WARNING SYSTEM IN CANADIAN TERRITORY

(In this Statement of Conditions, unless the context otherwise requires, "Canada" means the Government of Canada; "United States" means the Government of the United States of America; "Distant Early Warning (DEW) System" means all the detection stations, communications installations (including relay stations), and ancillary facilities, making up that part of the System in Canada; "RCAF" means the Royal Canadian Air Force, and "USAF" means the United States Air Force.)

1. Sites

The location and size of all airstrips and the location of all sites, roads, wharves and jetties, required for the DEW System in Canada shall be a matter of mutual agreement by the appropriate agencies of the two Governments. Canada will acquire and retain title to all lands required for the system. Canada grants and assures to the United States, without charge, such rights of access, use, and occupancy as may be required for the construction, equipment and operation of the system.

2. Liaison Arrangements

It is anticipated that the United States will carry out the construction of the DEW System through a manage-

ment contractor appointed by the United States. It is understood that the United States and the management contractor will establish a DEW Project Office, and that the participation of interested Canadian Government agencies in the Project Office is desired to the extent necessary for consultation on matters covered in this statement of conditions. In addition, the Canadian Government may decide to appoint a Special Commissioner for the Project, and to assign liaison officers to the construction operations in Northern Canada.

3. Plans

Plans of the buildings, airstrips, roads (including access roads) and similar facilities, information concerning use of local materials, such as rock fill, sand and gravel, and information concerning other arrangements related to construction and major items of equipment, shall, if requested, be supplied to the appropriate Canadian authorities in sufficient detail to give an adequate idea of the scope of the proposed construction. Canadian officials shall have the right of inspection during construction. Proposals for subsequent construction, or major alterations, shall be discussed with the appropriate Canadian authorities.

4. Provision of Electronic Equipment

The Canadian Government reaffirms the principle that electronic equipment at installations on Canadian territory should, as far as practicable, be manufactured in Canada. The question of practicability must, in each case, be a matter for consultation between the appropriate Canadian and United States agencies to determine the application of the principle. The factors to be taken into account shall include availability at the time period required, cost and performance. For the purpose of applying these principles to the DEW line, the DEW Project Office shall be used as far as possible as the instrument for effective consultation between the Canadian and United States agencies concerned.

5. Construction and Procurement (other than Electronic Equipment)

- Canadian contractors will be extended equal consideration with United States contractors in the awarding of construction contracts, and Canadian and United States contractors shall have equal consideration in the procurement of materials, equipment and supplies in either Canada or the United States;
- Contractors awarded a contract for construction in Canada will be required to give preference to qualified Canadian labour for such construction. The rates of pay and working conditions for this labour will be set after consultation with the Canadian Department of Labour in accordance with the Canadian Fair Wages and Hours of Labour Act.

6. Canadian Law

Nothing in this Agreement shall derogate from the application of Canadian law in Canada, provided that, if in unusual circumstances its application may lead to unreasonable delay or difficulty in construction or opera-

tion, the United States authorities concerned may request the assistance of Canadian authorities in seeking appropriate alleviation. In order to facilitate the rapid and efficient construction of the DEW System, Canadian authorities will give sympathetic consideration to any such request submitted by United States Government authorities.

Particular attention is directed to the ordinances of the Northwest Territories and Yukon Territory, including those relating to the following:

- No game or wildlife shall be taken or molested in the Northwest Territories. Licences to hunt in Yukon Territory may be purchased from representatives of the Yukon Territorial Government.
- No objects of archaeological interest or historic significance in the Northwest Territories or Yukon Territory will be disturbed or removed therefrom without first obtaining the approval of the Canadian Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources.

7. Operation and Manning

- The extent of Canadian participation in the initial operation and manning of the DEW System shall be a matter for later decision by Canada after full consultation with the United States. It is understood that, in any event, Canada reserves the right, on reasonable notice, to take over the operation and manning of any or all of the installations. Canada will ensure the effective operation, in association with the United States, of any installations it takes over.
- Subject to the foregoing, the United States is authorized to station personnel at the sites, and to operate the DEW System, in accordance with the principles of command in effect from time to time between the military authorities of the two countries. The overall manning policy as between the employment of military and civilian personnel shall be the subject of consultation and agreement between the two Governments.

8. Financing

Unless otherwise provided by Canada, the costs of construction and operation of the DEW System shall be the responsibility of the United States, with the exception of Canadian military personnel costs if Canada should man any of the installations.

9. Period of Operation of the System

Canada and the United States agree that, subject to the availability of funds, the DEW System shall be maintained in operation for a period of ten years or such shorter period as shall be agreed by both countries in the light of their mutual defence interests. Thereafter, in the event that either Government concludes that any or all of the installations are no longer required, and the other Government does not agree, the question of continuing need will be referred to the Permanent Joint Board on Defence. In considering the question of need, the Permanent Joint Board on Defence will take into

account the relationship of the DEW System to other radar installations established in the mutual defence interest of the two countries. Following consideration by the Permanent Joint Board on Defence, as provided above, either Government may decide that the installations in question shall be closed, in which case the arrangements shown in paragraph 10 below regarding ownership and disposition of the installations will apply.

10. Ownership of Removable Property

Ownership of all removable property brought into Canada or purchased in Canada and placed on the sites, including readily demountable structures, shall remain in the United States. The United States shall have the unrestricted right of removing or disposing of all such property, PROVIDED that the removal or disposition shall not impair the operation of any installation whose discontinuance had not been determined in accordance with the provisions of paragraph 9 above, and PROVIDED further that removal or disposition takes place within a reasonable time after the date on which the operation of the installation has been discontinued. The disposal of United States excess property in Canada shall be carried out in accordance with the provisions of the Exchange of Notes of April 11 and 18, 1951,² between the Secretary of State for External Affairs and the United States Ambassador in Ottawa, concerning the disposal of excess property.

11. Telecommunications

The United States military authorities shall obtain the approval of the Canadian Department of Transport, through the Royal Canadian Air Force, for the establishment and operation (including the assignment of frequencies) of radio stations in Canadian territory. The provision of telecommunications circuits (both radio and land-line) required during the construction period and thereafter will be the subject of consultation between the appropriate authorities of the two governments, having regard to the desirability of using existing military circuits and existing Canadian public carriers where this may be feasible.

12. Scientific Information

Any geological, topographical, hydrographical, geophysical, or other scientific data obtained in the course of the construction or operation of the DEW System shall be transmitted to the Canadian Government.

13. Matters Affecting Canadian Eskimos

The Eskimos of Canada are in a primitive state of social development. It is important that these people be not subjected unduly to disruption of their hunting economy, exposure to diseases against which their immunity is often low, or other effects of the presence of white men which might be injurious to them. It is therefore necessary to have certain regulations to govern contact with and matters affecting Canadian Eskimos. The following conditions are set forth for this purpose:

- (a) Any matters affecting the Eskimos, including the possibility of their employment in any area and

²Treaties and Other International Acts Series 2298.

the terms and arrangements for their employment, if approved, will be subject to the concurrence of the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources.

- (b) All contact with Eskimos, other than those whose employment on any aspect of the project is approved, is to be avoided except in cases of emergency. If, in the opinion of the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, more specific provision in this connection is necessary in any particular area, the Department may, after consultation with the United States, prescribe geographical limits surrounding a station beyond which personnel associated with the project, other than those locally engaged may not go or may prohibit the entry of such personnel into any defined area.
- (c) Persons other than those locally engaged shall not be given leave or facilities for travel in the Canadian Arctic (other than in the course of their duties in operation of the project) without the approval of the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, or the Royal Canadian Mounted Police acting on its behalf.
- (d) There shall be no local disposal in the north of supplies or materials of any kind except with the concurrence of the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, or the Royal Canadian Mounted Police acting on its behalf.
- (e) Local disposal of waste shall be carried out in a manner acceptable to the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, or the Royal Canadian Mounted Police acting on its behalf.
- (f) In the event that any facilities required for the system have to encroach on or disturb past or present Eskimo settlements, burial places, hunting grounds, etc., the United States shall be responsible for the removal of the settlement, burial ground, etc., to a location acceptable to the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources.

14. Canadian Immigration and Customs Regulations

- (a) Except as otherwise agreed, the direct entry of United States personnel into the Northwest Territories or Yukon Territory from outside Canada shall be in accordance with Canadian customs and immigration procedures which will be administered by local Canadian officials designated by Canada.
- (b) Canada will take the necessary steps to facilitate the admission into the territory of Canada of such United States citizens as may be employed on the construction or operation of the DEW System, it being understood that the United States will undertake to repatriate at its expense any such persons if the contractors fail to do so.

15. Use of Air Strips

Air strips at installations in the DEW System shall

be used by the United States solely for the support of the System. If it should be desired at any time by the United States to use an air strip for other purposes, requests should be forwarded through appropriate channels. The air strips shall be available for use by the RCAF as required. The air strips shall also be available for use by Canadian civil air carriers operating into or through the area, whenever such use would not conflict with military requirements, and SUBJECT to the understanding that the United States Air Force will not be responsible for the provision of accommodation, fuel, or servicing facilities of any kind. Proposals and arrangements for such use of USAF operated air strips by Canadian air carriers shall be submitted to the RCAF, which shall consult the USAF before granting any such permission.

16. Landing Facilities

Landing facilities at any of the stations on tidewater will be available for use by Canadian Government ships and ships employed on Canadian Government business.

17. Transportation

Canadian commercial carriers will to the fullest extent practicable be afforded the opportunity to participate in movements of project materials, equipment and personnel within Canada. The United States will select the means of transportation and specific carriers for the movement of materiel, equipment, and personnel from points outside of Canada to Distant Early Warning System sites, provided that in the case of air carriers applicable civil air transport agreements and procedures shall be observed.

18. Resupply Arrangements

Because of the special conditions in the Canadian Arctic, the Canadian Government has a particular interest in the arrangements for the resupply of the Distant Early Warning System. These arrangements shall therefore be a matter for later consultation and agreement between the two Governments.

19. Taxes

The Canadian Government will grant remission of customs duties and excise taxes on goods imported and of federal sales and excise taxes on goods purchased in Canada which are or are to become the property of the United States Government and are to be used in the construction and/or operation of the Distant Early Warning System, as well as refunds by way of drawback of the customs duty paid on goods imported by Canadian manufacturers and used in the manufacture or production of goods purchased by or on behalf of the United States Government and to become the property of the United States Government for the construction of the system.

20. Status of forces

The "Agreement between the Parties to the North Atlantic Treaty regarding the Status of their Forces", signed in London on June 19, 1951,¹ shall apply.

¹ Treaties and Other International Acts Series 2846.

21. Supplementary Arrangements and Administrative Agreements

Supplementary arrangements or administrative agreements between authorized agencies of the two Governments may be made from time to time for the purpose of carrying out the intent of this agreement.

TEXT OF U. S. REPLY

MAY 5, 1955

EXCELLENCY:

I have the honor to acknowledge your Note No. 306 of May 5, 1955. You refer to the construction by the United States of the Distant Early Warning element of a comprehensive warning and control system, being established jointly by the United States and Canada, and annex a statement of conditions to govern the establishment of this line in Canadian territory which were developed in discussion between representatives of the two Governments.

The United States Government notes the intentions of your Government with regard to participation in the construction, operation and maintenance of the project and both concurs in the conditions annexed to your Note and confirms that your Note and this reply shall constitute an agreement of our two Governments effective today.

Accept, Excellency, the renewed assurances of my highest consideration.

For the Secretary of State:
ROBERT MURPHY

His Excellency
A. D. P. HEENEY
Ambassador of Canada

Enactment of Trade Agreements Extension Act of 1955

Statement by the President¹

Enactment of the Trade Agreements Extension Act of 1955 is an important milestone in the development of our country's foreign economic policy. Supplemented by early approval of United States membership and participation in the pro-

¹ Made on June 21 on the occasion of the signing of the Trade Agreements Extension Act of 1955 (White House press release).

posed Organization for Trade Cooperation,² the act can contribute significantly to economic growth and economic well-being throughout the free world. In this way it will materially strengthen the defense capabilities of our friends abroad and advance the mutual security of us all.

I am particularly gratified that this measure was supported by overwhelming majorities in both political parties. This bipartisanship demonstrates anew our unity in dealing with matters affecting our relations with other countries.

Renegotiation of Tariff Concessions Requested by Five Nations

Press release 389 dated June 24

Five nations—India, the Netherlands, Nicaragua, Pakistan, and Sweden—have requested renegotiations, under article XXVIII of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, of certain tariff concessions granted to the United States.

At their ninth session, the Contracting Parties to the GATT took action to extend the firm life of the tariff concessions from July 2, 1955, to December 31, 1957. Prior to such extension, a country may renegotiate its individual tariff concessions with a view to their modification or withdrawal. Such renegotiations, if notified by June 30, 1955, may continue through September 30, 1955. Under this procedure, these five nations have indicated that they wish to renegotiate certain of their tariff concessions of interest to the United States. (As announced on June 10, 1955,³ Cuba has also given notice of intention to renegotiate certain of its concessions.)

Under article XXVIII, a country wishing to withdraw or modify a concession first must try to reach some basis of agreement with other interested Contracting Parties concerning such withdrawal or modification. The usual basis for agreement would be the granting of new concessions as compensation for the withdrawn concession.

Interested persons are invited to submit their views with regard to the possible effect on U.S.

² For text of proposed OTC agreement, see BULLETIN of Apr. 4, 1955, p. 579; for a message from the President to the Congress, see *ibid.*, Apr. 25, 1955, p. 678.

³ BULLETIN of June 27, 1955, p. 1057.

trade of possible modifications or withdrawals of the concessions on the items in the attached list. In addition, views are also desired regarding imports into the above-mentioned countries from the United States on which the United States might request new or further tariff reductions as compensation to the United States for any modifications or withdrawals of concessions on items in the attached list.

Views on the foregoing matters should be submitted to the Committee for Reciprocity Information, which is the interdepartmental committee established to receive views on trade-agreement matters. It is requested that any such views be submitted by the close of business on July 15, 1955.

All communications on these matters, in 15 copies, should be addressed to The Secretary of the Committee for Reciprocity Information, Tariff Commission Building, Washington 25, D.C. If any interested party considers that his views cannot be adequately expressed to the committee in a written brief, he should make this known to the secretary of the committee, who will then arrange for oral presentation before the committee.

Items on Which Concessions to the United States May Be Modified or Withdrawn Under Article XXVIII of the GATT

India

Fast color salts, rapid fast colors, rapidogens, rapidozols, solubilized vat dyes, vat dyes-paste, vats indigo, vats carbazol blue
Naphthol, fast color bases
Sulphur black, acid azo dyes, direct azo dyes
Vats, powder

The Netherlands

Oranges and mandarins

Nicaragua

Flavoring preparations for nonalcoholic beverages, unsweetened

Fabrics of pure artificial silk or of artificial silk with less than 20 percent of cotton threads (with the exception of plush velvet, corduroy, or triple-looped cloth) which weighs more than 50 grams per square meter

Unexposed sensitized photographic film

Transmitting and receiving tubes for radio

Table radios of 6 tubes or less

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Adding machines, comptographs and other computing apparatus, and separate parts and accessories including ribbons, n.e.s.
Condensed and evaporated milk or cream
Dried whole and skimmed milk or cream
Boards of marble
Sheet glass
Cotton tulles and net fabrics
Plywood
Whiskey
Newsprint
Sewing machines

Pakistan

Canned vegetables other than tomatoes, potatoes, onions, and cauliflowers
Paints, solutions, and compositions containing dangerous petroleum
Fountain pens complete
Safety razor blades
Typewriter ribbons
Juices, individually or mixed, of apricots, berries, grapes, pineapple, plums, and prunes
Canned pineapples
Unmanufactured tobacco

Sweden

Fresh apples
Fresh pears

Cuban Government Makes Payment of Adjudicated Claims

Press release 390 dated June 25

The Cuban Ambassador, Dr. Miguel Angel Campa, delivered to Acting Secretary of State Herbert Hoover, Jr., on June 25, bond certificates and a dollar draft of a total value of \$885,696.44. This is in payment of six outstanding claims of American companies which have been adjudicated by the Cuban courts.

These claims have been the subject of diplomatic negotiations between the Cuban and U.S. Governments for several years, and their final settlement is a source of satisfaction to both Governments and to the American claimants. The bond certificates will be exchanged by the claimants in Havana for 30-year negotiable dollar bonds bearing 4 percent interest.

July 4, 1955

U.S.-Cuban Agreement on Rice Tariff Quotas

Press release 348 dated June 13

The Governments of Cuba and the United States have agreed upon new procedures for the administration of the rice tariff quota provisions contained in the note under tariff item No. 253-B in Part II of the Cuban Schedule IX of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.

The new procedures are set forth in an exchange of notes signed on June 13, 1955, by the Cuban Minister of State, Carlos Saladrígas, and by the U.S. Chargé d'Affaires ad interim, Carlos Hall.

This exchange of notes will supersede the exchange of notes of December 17, 1952, between the U.S. Ambassador and the Cuban Minister of State.

Text of U.S. Note

HABANA, June 13, 1955

EXCELLENCY: I have the honor to refer to your Excellency's note of June 13, 1955, which, in English translation, reads as follows:

I have the honor to refer to the negotiations just held in Habana relative to the exchange of notes made between my Government and that of Your Excellency on December 17, 1952, which regulated the application of the note to Item 253-B in Part II of Schedule IX annexed to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.

My Government understands that in the negotiations mentioned in the preceding paragraph the following agreement was reached:

1. The Agreement contained in the exchange of notes between the Government of Cuba and the Government of the United States of America on December 17, 1952, will expire as of June 30, 1955.
2. Nevertheless, the text of the note to Item 253-B of Part II, Schedule IX annexed to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, will remain in force in its present form. Consequently, the basic tariff quota of 3,250,000 quintals set forth in said note will continue to become effective as of the first day of each quota year, that is, from July first, the imports of rice made against said basic tariff quota to be governed by the official internal regulations in force in Cuba.
3. Likewise, in case the rice import requirements of Cuba during any quota year should be greater than the 3,250,000 quintals before mentioned, the Government of the Republic of Cuba will announce, no later than February 15 of the quota year concerned, the amount of the additional quantity of rice needed, which rice shall be imported into Cuba as a deficit tariff quota. Said deficit tariff quota shall become effective not later than the first of April of the quota year concerned, and

the imports of rice made against said tariff quota shall be governed by the official internal regulations in force in Cuba.

4. The rice imported from the United States of America, against the basic tariff quota of 3,250,000 quintals or against the deficit tariff quota mentioned above, shall be subject, on importation into Cuba, to customs duties no higher than 1.85 pesos per one hundred kilograms in accordance with the provisions of Item 253-B, Part II, Schedule IX of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade and the note to that Item.

5. This agreement shall be subject to review, if so requested by either the Government of the Republic of Cuba, or the Government of the United States of America.

If the Government of the United States of America concurs in the above, the present note and the reply of Your Excellency to that effect will be considered as confirmation of the agreement reached by our respective Governments in the negotiations referred to above.

I take this opportunity to reiterate to Your Excellency my most distinguished consideration.

In reply thereto, I am pleased to inform your Excellency that my Government is in agreement with the contents of the note set forth above.

Accept, Excellency, the renewed assurances of my highest consideration.

President Orders Investigation Into Effects of Rye Imports

White House press release dated May 20

The President on May 20 directed the U.S. Tariff Commission immediately to make a second investigation into the effects of imports of rye, including rye flour and meal, on the domestic support program for rye and on the amount of products processed in the United States from domestic rye.

The President's action was taken in response to a request from the Secretary of Agriculture. The Commission's investigation will be made pursuant to section 22 of the Agricultural Adjustment Act, as amended.

On March 31, 1954, the President issued a proclamation¹ restricting imports of rye, including rye flour and meal, from all sources to 31 million pounds during the period April 1, 1954, through June 30, 1954, and restricting such imports from July 1, 1954, through June 30, 1955, to 186 million pounds.

President's Letter to Chairman of Tariff Commission

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: I have been advised by the Secretary of Agriculture that there is reason to believe that, in the absence of a continuation of import controls, rye, including flour and meal, is practically certain to be imported into the United States in 1955-56, under such conditions and in such quantities as to render or tend to render ineffective or materially interfere with the price support program for rye undertaken by the Department of Agriculture pursuant to Sections 301 and 401 of the Agricultural Act of 1949, as amended, or to reduce substantially the amount of products processed in the United States from domestic rye. The Tariff Commission is directed to make an immediate investigation of this matter in accordance with Executive Order No. 7233, dated November 23, 1935, promulgating regulations governing investigations under Section 22 of the Agricultural Adjustment Act, as amended. The investigation and report of findings and recommendations of the Tariff Commission should be completed as promptly as practicable to permit a decision as to the proper action necessary under Section 22, prior to the expiration of present controls on June 30, 1955.

A copy of a letter from the Secretary of Agriculture relative to this investigation is enclosed.²

Sincerely,

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

¹ BULLETIN of Apr. 12, 1954, p. 565.

² Not printed.

Highlights of the Mutual Security Program for 1956

*Statement by Harold E. Stassen
Director, Foreign Operations Administration¹*

I appreciate the opportunity to appear before you today in support of President Eisenhower's request for authority and funds in the amount of \$3.53 billion to carry out the mutual security program during fiscal year 1956.

On May 25th the Secretary of State, in a brilliant statement before this committee, outlined the basic foreign policy considerations which lay behind the President's request for this program during the coming fiscal year.² I will not presume to repeat or elaborate on his statement, except to add my own view that we are now entering a new era of tremendous challenge and opportunity for the United States and for the entire free world, an era which must not be approached in a spirit of complacency but which can be approached with great confidence and hope for all peoples.

President Eisenhower, in his April 20th message transmitting the mutual security program request to the Congress, stated that this program is directed toward the fixed and unwavering objective of a just, prosperous, and enduring peace and is an indispensable part of a realistic and enlightened national policy for the United States.³

Significant Progress

Throughout the period following World War II, this program and its predecessors have been an essential element in the attainment of important results in the direction of peace and security

¹ Made before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs on June 8.

² BULLETIN of June 6, 1955, p. 911. For Secretary Dulles' testimony before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations on May 5, see *ibid.*, May 23, 1955, p. 854.

³ *Ibid.*, May 2, 1955, p. 711.

throughout the world. The Marshall plan was an indispensable factor in the remarkable economic recovery which the countries of Western Europe have achieved. The military assistance which has been furnished to our allies in NATO and to other countries in the free world has provided a firm foundation for collective defensive strength and has served as an effective deterrent against Communist military aggression. Technical cooperation and limited economic assistance to underdeveloped nations have aroused a spirit of hope and confidence for further progress for more than one-half of the world's population who have long suffered from extreme want and privation. Through contributions to programs of the United Nations and other multilateral organizations, the United States has played an important part in implementing the enlightened statement of objectives which were adhered to by a devastated but hopeful world 10 years ago in San Francisco.

Progress has indeed been significant. There is a clear feeling, both at home and abroad, that a momentum of forward progress has been set in motion which, if sustained, may ultimately result in a basis for the solution of world problems through peaceful means and without recourse to a war which could mean the destruction of civilization.

The people of the United States can indeed feel a deep and humble satisfaction from the important role which they have played in bringing the world this far along the road toward a secure peace. Throughout the critical years, this committee, the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate, and the Congress as a whole have displayed a leadership and an initiative which has made this progress possible.

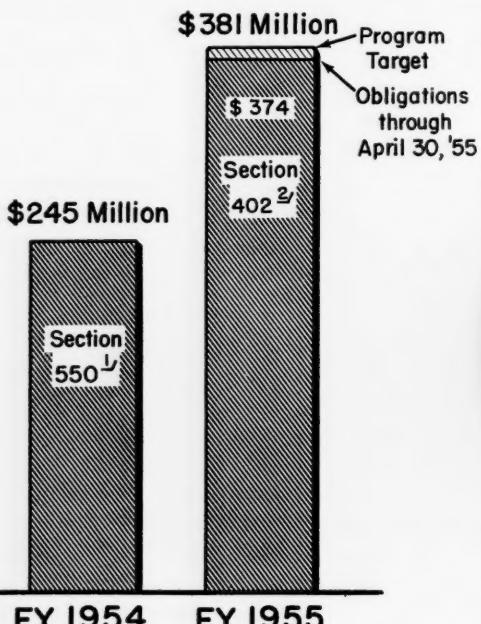
As we move forward in hope and confidence, however, we must recognize that much remains to be done. Although the foundations for military security of the free world have been laid, we have not yet achieved a situation of strength sufficient to avert the risk of large-scale hostile attack. Although the beneficial effects of technical cooperation are being felt in 60 nations throughout the world, we must recognize that progress in relieving the dire conditions of need in underdeveloped countries is only beginning, and we must plan to continue our cooperative efforts over a period of many years to come. Although immediate and pressing needs in the economic field have been met through the furnishing of economic assistance to certain key areas, critical situations still exist, and will arise, which must be met if friendly nations are to attain the political and economic capacity to exercise a constructive role as partners in meet-

ing the common objectives of all free nations. It is for these reasons that the President has requested a continuation of the mutual security program as a concrete demonstration of the determination of the American people to help carry this crucial work forward to a successful conclusion.

The details of our program request are contained in the documents before you, and representatives of the Departments of State and of Defense and the Foreign Operations Administration are available to elaborate further and to answer questions which the members of this committee may wish to raise on any portion of the program. In view of the fact that this committee is already familiar with the basic elements of the request of the President, I would like to confine my remarks this morning to a few of the highlights of the program which bear particular emphasis and to respond to any questions which you may wish to raise.

SURPLUS AGRICULTURAL COMMODITIES

FOA Has Sold More Than \$600 Million in FY 1954 and FY 1955

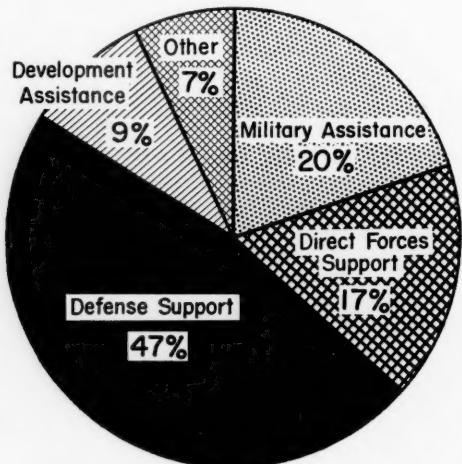


^{1/} Mutual Security Act of 1951, as amended.

^{2/} Mutual Security Act of 1954.

^{3/} Sales proceeds are 7.25 million in dollar equivalents under the dollar cost of commodities.

Sales Proceeds Are to be Used For These Purposes:



**612 Million
in Dollar Equivalents** ^{3/}

Funds for Europe

You will note that no funds are requested for economic assistance to the original Marshall plan countries. Defense support assistance is requested, however, for Spain and Yugoslavia, who were not members of the Marshall plan.

Spain has recently granted the United States access to valuable sites for military facilities, and her armed forces are being strengthened through military assistance, but the economy of the country lacks adequate strength. Under arrangements with the Spanish Government, a major portion of the local currency generated from the sale of defense support commodities in Spain is directly applied toward meeting the costs of construction and maintenance of United States facilities in the country.

Yugoslavia remains firmly independent of the Cominform. This fact in itself is of considerable importance to the rest of Europe. In addition, this country has entered into cooperative arrangements with Turkey and with Greece. It is planned to continue defense support and direct-forces support assistance to this important country, to strengthen the economic base for their defense effort.

The total of nonmilitary funds programmed for Europe in the coming year amounts to \$95 million, which includes, in addition to programs for Spain and Yugoslavia, continuing economic support for the city of Berlin and limited funds for technical exchange, directed primarily toward improving levels of productivity. The promotion of understanding as to the means by which great economic and social advances have been made under our system of free institutions is playing its part in rolling back the threat of Communist subversion and domination on the continent of Europe, and this important work should be carried forward.

Arc of Free Asia

The most pressing threats to world security and stability are now centered in Asia, and the preponderance of funds requested for fiscal year 1956 are to be directed toward meeting the threats to this area.

Asia is the focal point of present Communist pressure and the area whose future direction, either toward domination by communism, or freedom and independence, will be crucial in the long-range struggle of freedom against oppression. In addition to direct military assistance, funds

are requested in the amount of \$1,113,500,000 to meet the defense support and direct-forces support needs of free Asian countries which are under the constant threat of overt Communist aggression as well as internal subversion. A major part of these funds is proposed for programs in Korea, Formosa, Cambodia, Laos, and Viet-Nam, all of which are confronted with situations of immediate crisis. Funds are also included within this total for similar types of support to Pakistan, Thailand, and the Philippines, who have firmly and courageously taken their stand on the side of freedom against aggression and have joined with us in the Manila Pact organization.

Funds are also requested for a continuation of development assistance in Asia, principally for India. The 370 million people of India are now engaged in an unprecedented effort to wage a successful struggle against serious economic distress, under a democratic form of government. The eyes of all of Asia are focused on this great effort. The recent election in Andhra, in which local Communist forces were roundly defeated, reflects real progress. If this progress is to be continued, the momentum of economic advance must be sustained, and it is proposed that the United States continue to play a marginal but important role in this process.

In addition to regular country programs, the mutual security program for fiscal year 1956 contains a request for a special Presidential fund of \$200 million for stimulating economic growth and development throughout the entire arc of free Asia. Within this area 770 million people, or one-third of the world's population, reside. It is important to the United States and to the entire free world that these countries, individually and through cooperation with one another, find the means of becoming effective and profitable partners in an expanding free-world economy and of providing a better life for their peoples.

Success cannot come overnight and must depend largely on the efforts of the Asians themselves. A relatively modest amount of assistance from the United States, however, can be a crucial element in the process. In a recent meeting at Simla, India, involving technical representatives of 10 of the most important free Asian countries, it was agreed that regional economic cooperation by Asian nations should be improved and that United States assistance on a bilateral basis would make a significant contribution toward needed economic

growth. We welcome the initiative which these nations have taken and look forward to an increasing degree of consultation and cooperation among and with them in the future.

The President has requested, and the Senate has approved, the use of funds for this new program on more than a 1-year basis. It is important that we move deliberately and carefully, in order to insure that our investment produces the best results in the long range. Persistence, patience, care, and understanding, coupled with prompt, effective action, are the keys to success of this program.

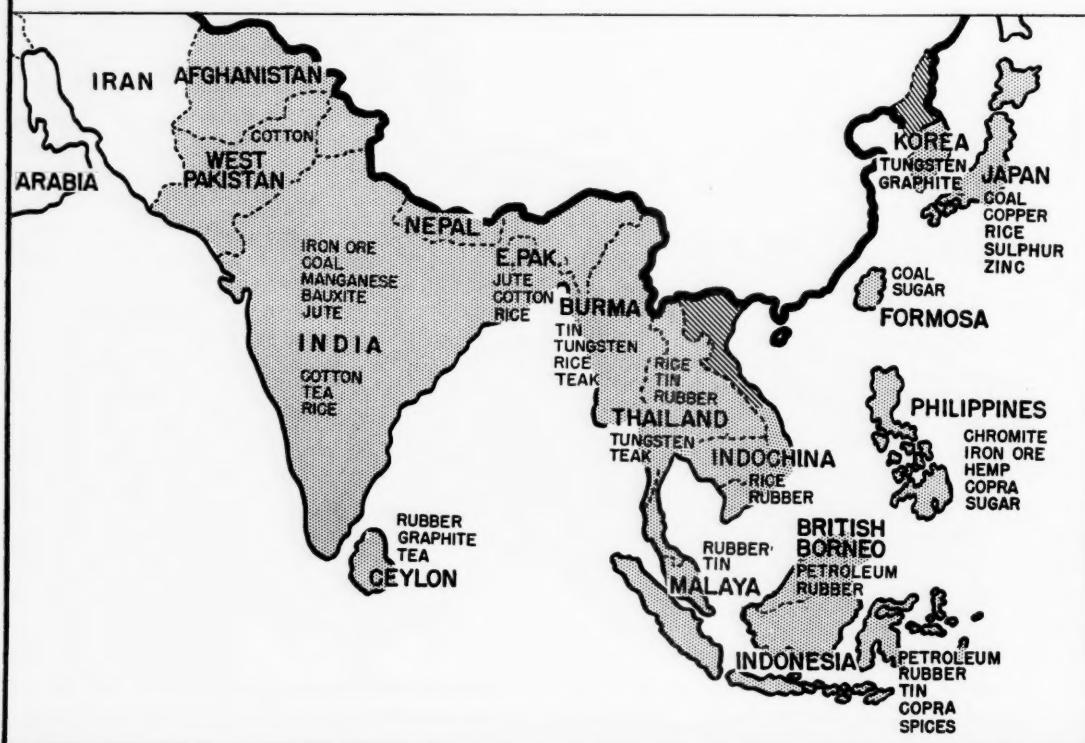
Near East and Africa

\$309 million are requested in the mutual security program for nonmilitary assistance in the Near East and Africa. This amount includes funds for continued defense and direct-forces sup-

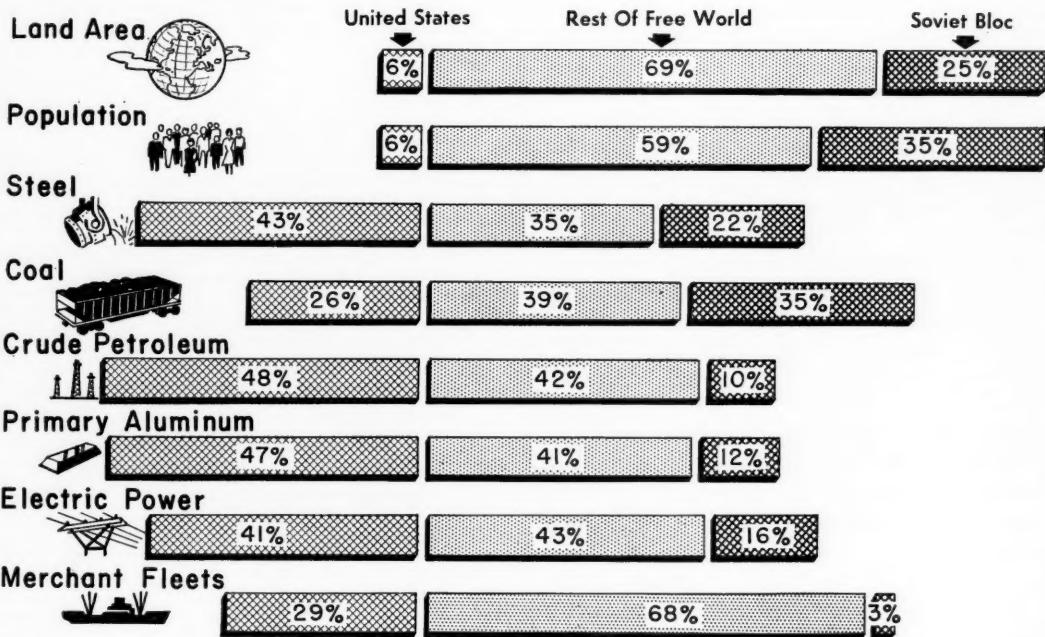
port to our staunch NATO allies, Greece and Turkey, and for similar assistance to Iran, which is on the threshold of achieving real progress in long-delayed economic development and improved military strength. Funds are also included for a continuation of technical cooperation with 11 countries in the area and with the territories of Africa. Development assistance is proposed for Israel and for certain Arab States who presently lack the economic resources to provide for the basic needs of their peoples without external assistance.

Dangerous tensions still exist between the Arab States and Israel, and as long as this situation persists the potentialities for progress and well-being for all nations in the area can never be fully realized. We are encouraged, however, by recent evidence of constructive attitudes toward reaching a solution to the international water problems of

RESOURCES IN THE ARC OF FREE ASIA



COMBINED STRENGTH OF THE FREE WORLD IS THE KEY TO PEACE



the Jordan Valley. Real progress in this matter can make an important contribution to the ultimate solution of the tragic problem of the Palestine refugees. \$65 million of the total requested for the Near East and Africa is planned for continued support of the United Nations program providing relief and resettlement assistance for these long-suffering peoples.

Latin America

Funds are requested for a continuation of development assistance and technical cooperation in South and Central America. It is in this great neighboring area that the concept of point 4 was first tried and found successful. Today, technical cooperation programs are moving forward with 19 independent nations and with overseas territories. It is particularly important that progress be continued in this field. In addition to technical

cooperation, development assistance funds are requested to meet critical economic problems in Guatemala and Bolivia. The funds originally estimated for Guatemala are likely to prove insufficient to meet the economic needs in that country and other special problems in the area which may have to be dealt with during the coming year. The President had initially requested \$21 million for development assistance to Latin America. The Senate, in its action on the mutual security bill on June 2, increased this authorization to \$38 million.

In addition to our bilateral programs with some 60 nations throughout the world, the mutual security program contains requests for funds to permit continued support of a number of special programs, such as assistance for refugees, migrants, and escapees, ocean freight for relief goods shipped through voluntary agencies, and the United Nations Children's Fund and expanded

technical assistance program. The importance of unwavering United States support for these United Nations activities, which are constantly expanding their constructive influence throughout the world, is well known to this committee.

Before concluding my statement, I would like to say a few words concerning the organization which I have been privileged to direct during the past 2½ years—the Foreign Operations Administration. I am proud to have been associated with this agency and with the important work which it has done in furthering the foreign policy interests of our Government. In 3 weeks, the functions thus far ably performed by FOA are to be transferred by Executive order to the International Cooperation Administration, within the Department of State.⁴ My best wishes go forward to Mr. John B. Hollister, who has been nominated by the President to head this new agency. I have every confidence that under his leadership, and the leadership of the Secretary of State, this successful program will become an increasingly effective element in furthering our national policy and improving the prospects for peace—with freedom, security, and economic well-being for ourselves and for others.

In conclusion, I strongly urge that the Congress act favorably on the President's mutual security request and thus provide the basis for effective forward progress in this time of greatest challenge and opportunity for the free world.

Current Legislation on Foreign Policy: 84th Congress, 1st Session

Report to Congress on the Mutual Security Program. H. Doc. 97, December 31, 1954, transmitted March 14, 1955. 65 pp.

Department of Defense Appropriations for 1956. Hearings before the Subcommittee of the House Committee on Appropriations. January 31–April 20, 1955.

Departments of State and Justice, the Judiciary, and Related Agencies Appropriations for 1956. Hearings before the Subcommittee of the House Committee on Appropriations. February 7–17, 1955. 558 pp.

Report of the National Advisory Council on International Monetary and Financial Problems. Message from the President transmitting the Report for the period October 1, 1953, to June 30, 1954, pursuant to section 4 (b) (5) of the Bretton Woods Agreements Act. H. Doc. 85, February 8, 1955. 60 pp.

⁴ *Ibid.*, May 30, 1955, p. 880.

United States Information Agency. Hearing before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs. February 16, 1955. 28 pp.

To Amend the Foreign Service Act of 1946. Hearings before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs on H. R. 4941, a bill to amend the Foreign Service Act of 1946, as amended, and for other purposes. February 17–March 8, 1955. 139 pp.

Technical Assistance Programs. Hearings before a Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations. February 17 to March 4, 1955. 396 pp.

Departments of State and Justice, the Judiciary, and Related Agencies Appropriations for 1956. Hearings before the Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Appropriations on H. R. 5502, Making Appropriations for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1956. February 18–May 17, 1955. 1,240 pp.

Departments of State and Justice, the Judiciary, and Related Agencies Appropriations for 1956. Hearings before the Subcommittee of the House Committee on Appropriations: U.S. Information Agency. March 3–10, 1955. 287 pp.

Transportation on Canadian Vessels to and Within Alaska. Report to accompany S. 948. S. Rept. 59, March 11, 1955. 1 p.

Mexican Farm Labor Program. Hearings before the Subcommittee on Equipment, Supplies, and Manpower of the House Committee on Agriculture on H. R. 3822. March 16–22, 1955. Serial H. 328 pp.

Review of the United Nations Charter. Hearing before a Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations on proposals to amend or otherwise modify existing international peace and security organizations, including the United Nations. Part 8: Atlanta, Ga., March 17, 1955, 1,040 pp. Part 9: Miami, Fla., March 18, 1955, 1,205 pp. Part 10: San Francisco, Calif., April 9, 1955, 1,443 pp. Part 11: Denver, Colo., April 11, 1955, 1,615 pp.

Foreign Service Act Amendments of 1955. Report to accompany H. R. 4941. H. Rept. 229, March 18, 1955. 23 pp.

Foreign Claims Settlement Commission. Hearings before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs on draft legislation to amend the International Claims Settlement Act of 1949, as amended, and for other purposes. March 22–April 22, 1955. 230 pp.

Report on Audit of Export-Import Bank of Washington for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1954. Letter from the Assistant Comptroller General of the United States transmitting a Report pursuant to the Government Corporation Control Act (31 U. S. C. 841). H. Doc. 116, March 24, 1955. 11 p.

Survey Mission to the Far East, South Asia, and the Middle East. Report by Congressmen John M. Voris and James P. Richards to the House Committee on Foreign Affairs. H. Rept. 295, March 24, 1955. 13 pp.

Statement by Gen. Alfred M. Gruenther, USA, Supreme Allied Commander, Europe, and United States Commander in Chief, Europe. Hearing before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations on NATO and the Paris Accords relating to West Germany. March 26, 1955. 17 pp.

Protocol on the Termination of the Occupation Regime in the Federal Republic of Germany and Protocol to the North Atlantic Treaty on the Accession of the Federal Republic of Germany. Hearings before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations on Executives L and M, 83d Congress, 2d Session. March 29–30, 1955. 93 pp.

FOA Grain Storage Elevators in Pakistan. Hearings before the Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations of the Senate Committee on Government Operations. Part 1: March 31 and April 6, 1955. 120 pp. Part 2: April 14 and 15 and May 3, 1955. 282 pp.

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND CONFERENCES

Calendar of Meetings¹

Adjourned during June 1955

GATT Tariff Negotiations With Japan	Geneva	Feb. 21-June 8
FAO Committee on Commodity Problems: 25th Session	Rome	May 23-June 3
10th International Mediterranean Fair	Palermo	May 24-June 10
International Sports Exhibition	Turin	May 24-June 19
Inter-American Commission of Women: 10th Assembly	San Juan	May 29-June 18
Canadian International Trade Fair	Toronto	May 30-June 10
6th International Technical Conference on Lighthouses and Other Aids to Navigation.	The Hague	May 31-June 4
ICAO Assembly: 9th Session	Montreal	May 31-June 13
5th International Congress on Large Dams	Paris	May 31-June 17
International Samples Fair	Barcelona	June 1-20
ILO Annual Conference: 38th Session	Geneva	June 1-25
International Sugar Council: 4th Session	London	June 1-3
IASI Committee on Statistical Education: 1st Session	Quitandinha	June 3-8
IASI Committee on Improvement of National Statistics: 3d Session	Quitandinha	June 3-8
International Commission for Northwest Atlantic Fisheries: 5th Annual Meeting.	Ottawa	June 6-11
FAO Council: 21st Session	Rome	June 6-17
Permanent International Association of Navigation Congresses: Annual Meeting.	Paris	June 7-9
Agriculture Show	Denbigh (Jamaica)	June 8-9
3d Inter-American Statistical Conference	Quitandinha	June 9-22
Inter-American Statistical Institute: 3d General Assembly	Quitandinha	June 9 and 21
21st International Aeronautical Exhibition	Paris	June 10-19
Customs Cooperation Council	Brussels	June 13 (1 day)
UNICEF Committee on Administrative Budget	New York	June 13-14
Tripartite Meeting (France, U. K., U. S.)	New York	June 16-17
International Cotton Advisory Committee: 14th Plenary Meeting	Paris	June 20-25
Inter-American Travel Congress, Permanent Executive Committee: 1st Meeting.	Washington	June 20-24
U. N. 10th Anniversary Commemorative Ceremony	San Francisco	June 20-26
International Tin Study Group, Management Committee: 30th Meeting.	Bonn	June 24-26

In Session as of June 30, 1955

U. N. Trusteeship Council: 16th Session	New York	June 8-
International Exhibition of Architecture, Industrial Design, Home Furnishings, and Crafts.	Helsingborg	June 10-
ICAO Airworthiness Panel of Airworthiness Division: 2d Meeting	Paris	June 14-
Council of the Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty: Meeting of Economic Advisers.	Karachi	June 20-
Intersessional Committee of the Contracting Parties to the GATT	Geneva	June 23-
5th International Film Festival	Berlin	June 24-
International Statistical Institute: 29th Session	Quitandinha	June 24-
ITU International Telegraph Consultative Committee: Study Group VI.	Geneva	June 28-
International Wheat Council: 17th Session	London	June 28-

Scheduled July 1-September 30, 1955

UNESCO-International Bureau of Education: 18th International Conference on Public Education.	Geneva	July 4-
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¹ Prepared in the Office of International Conferences, June 22, 1955. Following is a list of abbreviations: GATT, General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade; FAO, Food and Agriculture Organization; ICAO, International Civil Aviation Organization; ILO, International Labor Organization; IASI, Inter-American Statistical Institute; UNICEF, United Nations Children's Fund; U.N., United Nations; ITU, International Telecommunication Union; UNESCO, United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization; ECAFE, Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East; PASO, Pan American Sanitary Organization; WHO, World Health Organization.

Scheduled July 1-September 30, 1955—Continued

ITU International Telegraph Consultative Committee: Study Group X.	Geneva	July 4-
U. N. Economic and Social Council: 20th Session	Geneva	July 5
International Whaling Commission: 7th Meeting	Moscow	July 16-
18th Conference of International Union of Pure and Applied Chemistry; and 14th International Congress of Pure and Applied Chemistry.	Zürich	July 20-
American International Institute for the Protection of Childhood: Meeting of Directing Council.	Montevideo	July 25
Pan American Institute of Geography and History (PAIGH): 6th General Assembly.	México, D.F.	July 25-
PAIGH Commission on Cartography: 7th Consultation	México, D.F.	July 25-
PAIGH Commission on Geography: 4th Consultation	México, D.F.	July 25-
PAIGH Commission on History: 3d Consultation	México, D.F.	July 25-
3d International Congress of Biochemistry	Brussels	Aug. 1-
Advisory Committee to the U. N. Secretary-General on Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy: 3d Meeting.	Geneva	Aug. 3-
U. N. International Conference on Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy.	Geneva	Aug. 8-
International Council of Scientific Unions: 7th General Assembly	Oslo	Aug. 8-
Conference of British Commonwealth Survey Officers	Cambridge (England)	Aug. 15-
9th International Edinburgh Film Festival	Edinburgh	Aug. 21-
FAO Meeting on Livestock Production under Tropical Conditions	Brisbane	Aug. 22-
International Wool Textile Research Conference	Sydney	Aug. 22-
1st U. N. Congress on Prevention of Crime and Treatment of Offenders.	Geneva	Aug. 22-
16th International Exhibition of Cinematographic Art	Venice	Aug. 25-
Inter-Parliamentary Union: 44th Congress	Helsinki	Aug. 25-
International Committee on Military Medicine and Pharmacy	Istanbul	Aug. 28-
International Astronomical Union: 9th General Assembly	Dublin	Aug. 29-
14th International Horticultural Congress	Scheveningen (Netherlands)	Aug. 29-
International Association for Hydraulic Research: 6th Plenary Meeting.	Delft (Netherlands)	Aug. 29-
U. N. Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA): 6th Session.	Bogotá	Aug. 29-
ICAO Second Air Navigation Conference	Montreal	Aug. 30-
U. N. ECAFE Iron and Steel Subcommittee: 6th Session	Bangkok	August
ICAO Legal Committee: Subcommittee on Chartering and Hiring of Aircraft.	Paris or The Hague	Sept. 1-
Damascus International Fair	Damascus	Sept. 2-
3d Pakistan International Industries Fair	Karachi	Sept. 2-
20th Salonika International Trade Fair	Salonika	Sept. 4-
International Commission for Criminal Police: 24th General Assembly.	Istanbul	Sept. 5-
ICAO Diplomatic Conference for the Purpose of Finalizing the Protocol of Amendment of the Warsaw Convention.	The Hague	Sept. 6-
PASO Executive Committee: 26th and 27th Meetings	Washington	Sept. 6-
International Scientific Tobacco Congress	Paris	Sept. 6-
PASO Directing Council: 8th Meeting; Regional Committee of WHO: 7th Meeting.	Washington	Sept. 8-
UNICEF Executive Board and Program Committee	New York	Sept. 8-
19th Levant Fair	Bari	Sept. 9-
International Rubber Study Group: Management Committee Meeting.	London	Sept. 9-
International Congress on Cosmic Radiation	México, D.F.	Sept. 10-
International Union of Public Transport: 31st Congress	Naples	Sept. 11-
UNESCO International Congress of Libraries and Documentation Centers.	Brussels	Sept. 11-
International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and International Monetary Fund: 10th Annual Meeting of Boards of Governors.	Istanbul	Sept. 12-
U. N. ECAFE Working Party of Experts on Hydrologic Terminology. U. N. Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories: Reconvened 6th Session.	Bangkok	Sept. 12-
Marseille International Fair	New York	Sept. 15-
U. N. General Assembly: 10th Session	Marseille	Sept. 17-
FAO Latin American Forestry Commission: 5th Session	New York	Sept. 20-
ILO Textiles Committee: 5th Session	Venezuela	Sept. 26-
U. N. Economic Commission for Europe (ECE): 3d Conference of Statisticians.	Geneva	Sept. 26-
Consultative Committee for Economic Development in Southeast Asia ("Colombo Plan"): Officials Meeting.	Singapore	Sept. 29-
FAO Indo-Pacific Fisheries Council: 6th Meeting	Tokyo	Sept. 30-

TREATY INFORMATION

Educational Exchange Agreement With Norway Renewed

The Department of State announced on June 15 (press release 355) that the United States and Norway had that day renewed for a second 5-year period an educational exchange agreement under the Fulbright Act.¹ The agreement, signed in Oslo by U.S. Ambassador L. Corrin Strong and Norwegian Foreign Minister Halvard M. Lange, on behalf of their respective Governments, provides the equivalent of \$1,250,000 in Norwegian kroner to continue the program for another 5 years at an annual expenditure of the equivalent of \$250,000 a year. These moneys will be used to finance travel of Norwegians to the United States for study, teaching, lecturing, or advanced research and to pay travel and maintenance costs for Americans to go to Norway for similar purposes.

Nearly 900 exchanges have taken place since the program began in 1949.

U.S. and Netherlands Sign Income-Tax Protocol

Press release 357 dated June 15

JOINT STATEMENT

On June 15, 1955, Secretary of State John Foster Dulles and the Ambassador of the Netherlands, His Excellency Dr. J. H. van Roijen, signed a protocol supplementing the convention of April 29, 1948² between the United States and the Netherlands for the avoidance of double taxation with respect to taxes on income and certain other taxes.

The object of the protocol is to effect certain modifications in the convention for the purpose of facilitating extension of the convention to the Netherlands Antilles (Dutch West Indies). The

¹ For an announcement of the original agreement, signed at Oslo on May 25, 1949, see BULLETIN of June 5, 1949, p. 731.

² BULLETIN of May 9, 1948, p. 611.

protocol will be submitted to the United States Senate for advice and consent to ratification and to be considered in conjunction with a proposal, presently under consideration in the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations (S. Exec. I, 83d Cong., 2d sess.), for extending the operation of the convention, with certain limitations, to the Netherlands Antilles.

The protocol contains two substantive articles. One of them would have the effect of modifying the credit article of the 1948 convention in order to set forth precisely the deduction or credit which the Antilles shall allow against its tax for income tax paid to the United States by United States citizens resident in the Antilles with respect to income they receive from sources within the United States. The other substantive article would modify the extension-procedure article of the 1948 convention so that the convention would apply as between the United States and the Netherlands Antilles on and after January 1 immediately preceding the date on which the procedure prescribed in the convention had been completed.

A third article of the protocol provides that it shall be regarded as an integral part of the convention, that it shall be ratified and instruments of ratification shall be exchanged, and that the protocol shall enter into force on the date of such exchange.

Current Actions

MULTILATERAL

Austria

State treaty for the re-establishment of an independent and democratic Austria. Signed at Vienna May 15, 1955.³

Senate advice and consent to ratification given: June 27, 1955.

BILATERAL

Belgium

Agreement for cooperation concerning the civil uses of atomic energy. Signed at Washington June 15, 1955. Enters into force on the date of receipt by Belgium of a notification from the United States that a period of 30 days has elapsed as required by United States law.

Canada

Agreement for cooperation on civil uses of atomic energy. Signed at Washington June 15, 1955. Enters into force

³ Not in force.

on the date of receipt by Canada of a notification from the United States that a period of 30 days has elapsed as required by United States law.

Cuba

Agreement extending the air force mission agreement of December 22, 1950, as extended (TIAS 2166, 2698, and 2869). Effectuated by exchange of notes at Washington May 3 and 17, 1955. Entered into force May 17, 1955.

Agreement extending the army mission agreement of August 28, 1951 (TIAS 2309), as extended. Effectuated by exchange of notes at Washington May 3 and 17, 1955. Entered into force May 17, 1955.

Dominican Republic

Agreement extending the agreement for a cooperative education program of March 16, 1951 (TIAS 2244), as amended. Effectuated by exchange of notes at Ciudad Trujillo April 19 and May 5, 1955. Entered into force May 5, 1955.

Ecuador

Agreement extending the agreement for a cooperative health and sanitation program of September 15, 1950 (TIAS 2147). Effectuated by exchange of notes at Quito March 17 and April 12, 1955. Entered into force April 18, 1955 (upon signature of operational extension agreement).

Netherlands

Protocol supplementing the convention with respect to taxes on income and certain other taxes for the purpose of facilitating extension to Netherlands Antilles. Signed at Washington June 15, 1955. Enters into force on the date of exchange of ratifications.

Peru

Agreement extending the agreement for a cooperative education program of September 25 and 29, 1950 (TIAS 2180). Effectuated by exchange of notes signed at Lima February 23 and April 26, 1955. Entered into force April 28, 1955 (upon signature of operational extension agreement).

United Kingdom

Agreement for cooperation on civil uses of atomic energy. Signed at Washington June 15, 1955. Enters into force on the date on which each Government receives from the other Government written notification that it has complied with all statutory and constitutional requirements for entry into force.

Agreement relating to additional funds to be made available by the United Kingdom for the continued operation of the United States Educational Commission. Effectuated by exchange of notes at London May 23, 1955. Entered into force May 23, 1955.

Uruguay

Agreement for a program of industrial productivity. Signed at Montevideo May 23, 1955. Will enter into force on date of a communication in writing notifying the United States Government of Uruguay's ratification.

THE DEPARTMENT

Designations

Cecil B. Lyon as Deputy Assistant Secretary for Inter-American Affairs, effective June 28 (press release 329 dated June 8).

PUBLICATIONS

Recent Releases

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C. Address requests direct to the Superintendent of Documents, except in the case of free publications, which may be obtained from the Department of State.

Tenth Inter-American Conference. Pub. 5692. International Organization and Conference Series II, American Republics 14. 221 pp. 65¢.

Report of the delegation of the United States of America, with related documents, on the Tenth Inter-American Conference held at Caracas, Venezuela, March 1-28, 1954.

U.S. Policy in the Near East, South Asia, and Africa—1954. Pub. 5801. Near the Middle Eastern Series 18. 72 pp. 30¢.

A pamphlet dealing with some problems in the area, and the mutual security and assistance programs administered there.

Your Department of State. Pub. 5839. Department and Foreign Service Series 43. 6 pp. 5¢.

A 6-page leaflet which gives pertinent facts about the Department of State.

Copyright. TIAS 2906. Pub. 5486. 18 pp. 10¢.

Provisional arrangement between the United States and Japan. Exchange of notes—Signed at Tokyo November 10, 1953. Entered into force November 10, 1953; operative retroactively April 28, 1952 and related exchanges of notes—Signed at Tokyo November 10, 1953.

Passport Visas, Validity of Nonimmigrant Visas and Schedule of Fees. TIAS 2912. Pub. 5411. 18 pp. 10¢.

Agreement between the United States and Mexico. Exchange of notes—Dated at México October 28, November 10 and 12, 1953. Entered into force November 12, 1953 with related exchange of notes—Dated at México November 10 and 12, 1953.

Health and Sanitation, Cooperative Program in Bolivia—Additional Financial Contributions. TIAS 2915. Pub. 5401. 6 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States and Bolivia. Exchange of notes—Dated at La Paz February 7 and June 27, 1952. Entered into force June 27, 1952.

Defense, Loan of Vessels to China. TIAS 2916. Pub. 5406. 11 pp. 10¢.

Agreement between the United States and China. Exchange of notes—Signed at Taipei January 13, 1954. Entered into force January 13, 1954.

Technical Cooperation, Litani River Survey Project. TIAS 2920. Pub. 5423. 4 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States and Lebanon. Exchange of notes—Signed at Beirut February 15, 21, and 24, 1951. Entered into force February 24, 1951.

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Press releases issued prior to June 20 which appear in this issue of the BULLETIN are Nos. 329 of June 8, 348 and 349 of June 13, 355 and 357 of June 15, 360 and 362 of June 16, 363 of June 17, and 366 of June 19.

No.	Date	Subject
*367	6/20	Military assistance agreement with Guatemala.
*368	6/20	Baker nomination.
*369	6/20	U.S.-U.K. atomic agreement for mutual defense.
*370	6/20	U.S.-Canada atomic agreement for mutual defense.
*371	6/20	Atoms-for-peace agreement with Chile.
*372	6/20	Villard designation.
373	6/21	Turkey credentials (rewrite).
*374	6/21	Study of domestic tuna industry.
*375	6/21	Committee on agriculturists visiting U.S.S.R.
*376	6/21	Atoms-for-peace agreement with Japan.
*377	6/22	Holland: testimony on sugar act.
*378	6/22	Educational exchange.
*379	6/22	Atoms-for-peace agreement with Greece.
*380	6/22	Agricultural representatives to U.S.S.R.
*381	6/23	Itinerary for Prime Minister U Nu.
*382	6/24	Atoms-for-peace agreement with Uruguay.
383	6/24	Dulles: U.N. 10th anniversary.
*384	6/24	Refugee ships.
*385	6/24	Aid to Greece.
*386	6/24	Surplus commodity agreement with Colombia.
*387	6/24	Murphy: "Germany in the Free World."
*388	6/24	Agricultural representative to U.S.S.R.
389	6/24	Renegotiation of tariff concessions.
390	6/25	Payment of claims by Cuba.

*Not printed.

†Held for a later issue of the BULLETIN.



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